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ABSTRACT

This study was planned as a program in which anthropologists and educators would work together in an effort to develop a conceptual framework and set of methods for ongoing field research in actual educational settings. The volume entitled "Readings," not yet published, includes articles designed to be read concurrently with each section of this volume. A major objective of the study was the development of training materials to be used in preparing anthropologists and educators to use field research as a means of problem identification and data gathering in education. Three high schools were examined as social units that operate according to an observable code of rules. The high schools were analyzed at three levels: (1) the sturctural level at which the whole school organization is taken as the unit of analysis; (2) the level or role behavior at which generalized patterns of behavior are taken as the unit of analysis; and (3) the level of individual strategies in response to the pattern of social constraints described at the previous two levels. Fifty-three incidents of classroom behavior were examined to help draw conclusions regarding schools as social systems. It is concluded that there will always be an informal network of power relations in the school that are not named in the formal organization chart. Secondly, there is always the possibility that one role will be in conflict with another role thus causing limitations on roles. Finally it is in the institution's interest to formalize emergent roles and incorporate them into the structure of the school. (SK)

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STUDYING SCHOOLS AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS:

A MANUAL FOR FIELD RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

SP010 155

Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute
Teachers College, Columbia University
Francis A. J. Ianni, Director

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Note

In the volume entitled Readings are included articles (termed primary) designed to be read concurrently with each section of this volume. The articles dealing with Field Research should be read in conjunction with the General Introduction; those dealing with "Bureaucratic and Organic Structures" with Unit I; those dealing with "Formal and Emergent Roles" with Unit II; and those dealing with "Sorting, Territoriality, and Autonomy" with Unit III. The theories and methodologies discussed in these articles will serve to clarify and amplify the concepts which underlie the following materials. In addition, supplementary references with annotations have been included for those students who wish to pursue any of these topics in greater depth. A list of both primary and supplementary readings follows.

List of Readings

Introductory Materials: Field Research

Primary

Dean, John, et al. "Observation and Interviewing." In John Doby, ed. An Introduction to Social Research. Meridith Publishing Co., 1967.

Scott, W. Richard. "Field Work in a Formal Organization: Some Dilemmas in the Role of Observers," Human Organization, Vol. 22, 1963-1964.

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Wax, Rosalie. "Good Fieldworkers and Good Respondents." In Doing Fieldwork. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Supplementary

Zelditch, Morris, Jr. "Some Methodological Problems of Field Studies," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67, 1962.

Geer, Blanche. "First Days in the Field." In Phillip Hammond, ed. Sociologists at Work. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967.

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Whyte, W. F. "Interviewing in Field Research." In Richard Adams and Jack Preiss, eds. Human Organization Research. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1960.

Mann, Dale. Policy Decision-Making in Education: An Introduction to Calculation and Control. New York: Teachers College Press, 1975.

Ianni, Francis A. J. Culture, Systems and Behavior: The Behavioral Sciences in Education. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1967.

Unit I: Bureaucratic and Organic Structures: A Comparative Analysis of Three High Schools

Primary

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Corwin, Ronald G. "The School as an Organization." Abridged from Ronald G. Corwin, "Education and the Sociology of Complex Organizations." In D. A. Hansen and J. E. Gerstl, eds. *On Education: Sociological Perspectives*. New York: Wiley & Sons, 1967.

Waller, Willard. "The School as a Social Organism" and "The Separate Culture of the School." In *The Sociology of Teaching*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Science Editions, 1965.

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Litwack, Eugene. "Models of Bureaucracy Which Permit Conflict," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 67, 1961.

Moeller, Gerald H. "Bureaucracy and Teachers' Sense of Power," *The School Review*, Vol. 72, 1964.

Weber, Max. "The Essentials of Bureaucratic Organization: an ideal-type construction." In Talcott Parsons, ed. *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.

Silverman, David. "Organizations: Problems of Definition" and "Organizations as Systems." In David Silverman. *The Theory of Organizations*. New York: Basic Books, 1970.

Katz, Michael B. "Alternative Proposals for American Education: The Nineteenth Century." In *Class, Bureaucracy and the Schools*, Chapter 3. New York: Praeger, 1971.

Unit II: Formal and Emergent Roles

Primary

Merton, Robert K. "The Role Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 8, 1957.

Gross, Neal, McEachern, Alexander and Mason, Ward. "Role Conflict and its Resolution." In E. Macoby, T. Newcomb, and E. Hartley, eds. *Readings in Social Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1958.

Supplementary

Goffman, Erving. "Role and Interaction." In *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1959.

Boyan, Norman J. "The Emergent Role of the Teacher in the Authority Structure of the School." In R. Allen and J. Schmid, eds. *Collective Negotiations and Educational Administration*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1967.

Calhoun, Craig. "General Status: Specific Role," *Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 2, May 1974.

Unit III: Sorting, Territoriality, and Autonomy: Individual and Group Agendas

Primary

Boocock, Sarane. "Classroom Effects upon Student Performance," *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 39, 1966.

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Coleman, James S. "The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 68, 1968.

Lacey, Colin. "Some Sociological Concommitants of Academic Streaming in a Grammar School," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1966.

Katz, Fred. "The School as a Complex Organization," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 34, 1964.

Parsons, Talcott. "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4, 1959.

Supplementary

Kimball, Solon T. "An Anthropological View of Social System and Learning." In Esther Lloyd Jones, ed. *Behavioral Science and Guidance*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1963.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Educational leadership at every level is dependent on decision making. While we are accustomed to associate both the need and the power to decide with management functions in education, instructional planning--whether deciding how to group children for instruction or prescribing for individual students--presents both teachers and administrators with the need to make decisions. There are a number of new approaches and technologies for improving decision making in education and, while experts may disagree on which is best suited to educational problem-solving, all agree that *problem identification* and some means of *data seeking* to assemble as much factual data as possible are essential to all of them. Both problem identification and data seeking have been the subject of a variety of approaches in educational administration. At one time or another, authoritarian, intuitive, rational, empirical, pragmatic and consensual modes have been tried individually and collectively and each has its adherents. But reduced to its essentials, the conflict over how best to identify educational problems and seek data to inform problem solving and decision making represents a tension between those who look to the folklore of the profession and those who propose scientific research for validation. Actually, each of these methods is a perfectly valid technique for informing educational problem solvers and policy makers but each also has its limitations. The experiential empiricism of the conventional folk-wisdom of practice does provide an existential mode of problem-identification--at least of those practical problems which create tension in the system--but there is no means of systematic data seeking or of generalizing beyond individual experience. Many established goals, procedures and remedies in public education thereby escape serious questioning. Conventional research procedures in education provide standardized and rigorous means of gathering data but educators frequently complain that the data and the findings which are derived from them lack relevant applicability to the problems they face. And so many practitioners fail to use research-generated data for improving practice or setting policy. This apparent contradiction has perplexed those who are proposing rational decision making to solve educational problems and has hindered both research and practice in education.

William James once said that whenever there is a contradiction, it is a result of the fact that the parties to the dispute have failed to make relevant distinctions. Perhaps this is the case here; perhaps educational administrators have for the most part stressed problem-*solving* without first developing a mode of problem-*finding*, perhaps we have failed to see the logic of learning to ask questions before seeking answers. Some issues in education are plain to see; others are less obvious. Some are continuous; others are transient or peculiar to localities. One thing does seem obvious: no matter how sophisticated the problem solving or decision making technology, it stands little chance of producing meaningful change in education if it is not informed of the technical, professional, structural and behavioral problems which plague American education and educators and of how these problems relate to the broader sociocultural process. During recent years, whether American education is "helping" or "hurting" has been persistently questioned. Are our schools, in form or in function, relevant? Is public education any longer a critical item in resolving social ills, or has it become part of the problem? Do we retain our educational apparatus, or are we seriously to consider alternative approaches to teaching and learning, to organizing and financing and to preparing professionals? Questions of this order and the rapid change which assists such issues to the crisis levels some occupy today are impatient of dissonance between research and practice.

For a number of years now, a group of anthropologists and educators at the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, have been working on the application of fieldwork methodology drawn from anthropology to the study of education as a means of problem identification and data seeking for educational administrators. The early stages of this developing program began with a number of evaluation studies in schools and since that time have expanded to include work in a variety of educational settings from elementary to higher education. Three main premises have informed our work to date:

(1) We have proceeded from the assumption that while educational programs of the school and the community operate in the real world and thus cannot be manipulated in order to satisfy the canons of controlled experimentation, it is possible to be just as rigorous and just as

empirical in field-oriented research and evaluation as in experimental approaches--if the objectives of research are clearly stated and if the methods for the collection of qualitative data are subjected to the same scrutiny and standardization as methods used in quantitative analysis.

(2) We have developed a firm commitment to institutional as well as individual behavior modification as the basis for sustained and meaningful change in education.

(3) Based on our own experiences as well as observation of a wide variety of social action programs, we are certain that unless such programs are developed out of and re-inform some body of theory, they inevitably fail to become institutionalized and so do not produce lasting change.

Early in 1972, with financial support from the Ford Foundation and later from the National Institute of Education, we decided that we would undertake a long-term field study of schools and that we would begin by looking at how high schools are organized as social units--groups of people working and, hopefully, learning together. We planned the study as a program in which anthropologists and educators would work together in an effort to develop a conceptual framework and set of methods for ongoing field research in actual educational settings. One of the major objectives of the program was the development of training materials to be used in preparing both anthropologists and educators to use the field research methods we found successful as a means of problem identification and data gathering in education. It is these materials we are here introducing.

Organization and Social Controls in American High Schools

There are a number of reasons why we decided to begin the research and to base the training materials on the organization and social activity of the American high school. A number of recent social commentators on education have described the high school as a focal point of current educational problems. Whether they comment on future shock, reconsideration of individualism and freedom, or deal more directly with the alienation of students and teachers and the community from the high school, in most cases, they indict education for its failure to provide continuity and congruence between the values and knowledge of succeeding generations during adolescence. Such criticisms of the high school, however, should be considered to some extent within the perspective of the sheer magnitude of the organizational and administrative problems presented by the American conception of the high school. While only ten percent of the adolescent population in the 1900s went to high school, today over 90% of youngsters in that age group attend high school and 75% graduate. The growth in the high school population came largely in the last three decades but the recent decline in the birth rate will probably reduce any possibility of dramatic growth beyond the 18 million students who now attend American high schools every day. Yet it is not just its sheer size but the social importance of the secondary school that makes the American dream of providing universal schooling for all of our adolescents a major problem in educational design and management.

The rapid expansion of secondary education in the last three decades has led to an emphasis on building and staffing new schools and organizing high school education to reduce the disorder and chaos which could easily result from the need to house, transport, and supervise large and diverse groups of adolescent students. At the present time, almost 50% of all high school students attend schools of one thousand or more students. In large measure, the current criticism of the high school as essentially a custodial almost prison-like institution which provides a sterile, irrelevant, joyless, and socially and individually deficient education for adolescents results from problems of program in many ways associated with our attempts to insure equality of educational opportunity.

While the American high school has been growing in size and complexity, there has also been a growth of concern over the apparent discrepancy between the curriculum and organization of the high school and the culture and interests of students. Thus, despite increasing evidence that more socialization and possibly more learning can take place in peer-mediated social systems of the high school, we know little about the optimum organization to facilitate such learning and nothing about how such systems intercept with the formal organization of the school. In large measure, this results from the fact that studies in education have tended to focus on the individual as learner. But we have also failed to look at the social organization of education as a natural setting for learning because much of our organizational theory in education comes from a concern with management, and so we have studied educational organizations as analogues of other managerial systems in government or business. And so, while learning studies focus on students, organizational studies tend to focus on the adults in the school. Most organizational descriptions of schools are presented in the formal organizational framework used to describe other bureaucratic structures in business and government. This tells us something about how educational institutions resemble business and government structures, but virtually nothing about how it is organized to facilitate the learner's interface with the school and the functions of the organization in seeking the values and goals which make education a unique and distinct institution. As a result, today we have very little reliable knowledge about how schools might be organized to facilitate learning or of how the many facilitative, extra-organizational learning systems which make up the totality of education in our society intersect with the formal organization of the school. Yet we need only to look at current trends in education--emphasis on affective and humanistic education, behavior modification, encounter and sensitivity programs, open classrooms, and greater peer group reference in governance--to realize that educators are beginning to sense that the informal social systems that are operative within every high school may also be the primary facilitators of learning. Many of these educators, however, continue to propose the adoption of these new programs and structures in somewhat of a conceptual vacuum. Specifically, they sense in a basic, emotional, "gut reaction" way that informal social systems in the school are important, but they do not possess a clear and comprehensive understanding of what it is that makes the informal social network so critical to learning and how these informal systems operate. As we attempt to develop new programs aimed at reducing the discrepancy between the environment and the school and the student culture, we somehow seem compelled to take these new programs and somehow force them into the existing formal organizational structure of the school and, of course, that structure eventually corrupts the function.

Field Research and the Administration of Education

It is at this point--looking at schools as social systems--that we think these materials and the field research techniques upon which they are based can be most useful to educators because they do not assume any pre-existing structure and can be used as a means for generating the data for a reconnection between learning environments and organizational structure in education. This is also, we think, one of the major reasons for the growing movement to apply the techniques and conceptual methods of anthropology to educational research. It is our hope that these materials and a better understanding of the uses of field research techniques in the study of education may help provide better data on how the high school actually functions, as well as serving as a tool for developing models for organizational change in the educational system. Educational encounters, whether they occur in formal or informal settings, tend not to repeat laboratory models--if, indeed, they will submit, in some of their respects, to satisfactory models at all. There are moments of actions and response, fluid and sometimes nonverbal. And, although their caprice can be overstated, the events of teaching and learning do manage to trouble even the most precise comprehensive research strategies, as anyone who has attempted classroom observation will attest. Nonetheless, conventional research and evaluation procedures in education continue to exploit arbitrary environments, statistical measures, and "problems" in seeking data about what goes on in educational encounters and in building knowledge of educational processes and structures. Anthropology offers a considerable expertise to traditional educational research in this regard. One distinction of anthropological inquiry is that it describes "natural" environments and "ground-level" behavior. The descriptive activity of anthropology--which is called ethnography--concerns "actual" behavior or what people are observed to do, not simply "normative" behavior or what people say they are doing or what they claim ought to be done. The confusion between normative and actual behavior is an important one in both traditional educational research and practice. In a sense, the problem of relevance in contemporary American high school education is, in fact, a failure on the part of educators to recognize the inconsistencies, contradictions, and paradoxes youths confront in trying to make sense of differences between actual and normative behavior. Further, the disposition of traditional educational research to generalize and attempt applications of findings from the study of arbitrary environments and normative behavior to "natural" environments and "real" behavior is much less a tendency of the past than contemporary technically impressive research methods and sophisticated analyses of data would have us believe.

One of the results of this new set of concerns has been the growing interest in what has frequently been called "the anthropological approach" in educational research. While research in educational administration has always been more closely attuned to the social sciences than most other areas of educational research because of our concern with management in educational organizations, there is a newly developing interest in anthropology here as well. This new interest, however, has led to problems caused by the differences in research style which characterize the quantitative research modes which have been the bases of most educational research and the somewhat different climate which surrounds the qualitative style of research in anthropology. In large measure, this results from the nature of anthropological inquiry itself which is holistic, situational, descriptive, and generally designed to result in a statement of system characteristics rather than of the inevitable association of the elements within the system. Eventually we produce a typology of systems but any generalizations which can inform practice are dependent upon the analyst's or practitioner's ability to identify his operational system with one of the model system types. Educational administrators, socialized in schools of education to a tradition of educational research which was narrowly deductive and purported to present inner-relationships among elements of a system which were conceptually independent of any given situation, have come to expect statements of law-like regularities from research. Such statements do not emerge from ethnographic field studies and techniques and standards of application and operational utility for qualitative data are only slowly beginning to develop. Thus it is not just a question of introducing anthropological methods or perspectives into educational research, it is also necessary to prepare educational administration students as well as educational researchers to understand that anthropological field research and its interpretation and validation operate within a different but equally reliable climate.

All research technologies share certain steps which are indispensible to inquiry in empirical science:

(1) the possession of some prior picture or conceptual scheme of the world under study;

(2) the asking of questions of the empirical world and the conversion of the question into researchable problems;

(3) the determination of the data to be sought to supply answers to those questions and the means to be employed in getting those data;

(4) the systematic search for the relations between the data;

(5) a system of interpretation of the findings;

(6) the use of concepts to group data and establish patterns of relationships and to provide summations of the interpretation of the findings.

In the conventional logico-deductive scheme which organizes most quantitative research designs, the researcher characteristically begins with an existing theory which he uses to set up an articulated problem in advance of the inquiry. The next step is to convert the problem into dependent and independent variables. Having done this he then proceeds to develop strategies and instruments, attempting to control and uncover relationships between (and among) the naturally occurring variables through the design. Analytic processes are generally performed after the data are in and usually follow a pattern which was part of the original design. Once the research steps are complete, the researcher then returns to the theory to interpret his results and, hopefully, modifies that theory as a result of his new findings.

There is, of course, nothing wrong with this approach so long as the researcher is already aware of the important variables in the problem he is studying. But in applied professional fields such as education there is some question as to whether the prior picture of the world from which we derive questions, frame hypotheses and identify variables is, in fact, really representative of the empirical world of practice we are proposing to improve through research. Many of the concepts and much of the theory we have adopted and adapted from the behavioral and social disciplines was first developed in the study of business or government organizations which may or may not be analogues of schooling organizations. Similarly, the meaning and function of the concepts may or may not be the same in education. Thus, in these materials, we start from the assumption that the test of the empirical world begins in the empirical world itself since operational reality exists there. Thus, field research has as its preferred style immersion in the field under study but always with a healthy and central respect for theory and methods. In field research, the emphasis, however, is on allowing the design of the research to remain somewhat flexible and subject to change throughout the work. This is principally due to an approach which sees the substance of the field as emerging rather than fixed and finite. Field researchers tend to be methodological pragmatists, seeing each method's capabilities and limitations and learning through on-site experience which to use to obtain adequate answers to posed questions. It is this approach which gives the impression of a lack of rigor in field research. In most research, the rigor is equated with fixed adherance to a rigid and pre-planned set of methods. But methods are, after all, merely instruments designed to identify and analyze the obdurate character of the empirical world and as such, their value exists only in their suitability in enabling this task to be done. Allowing skepticism or even new data to dictate changes in fixed procedures can be a very rigorous procedure, since it is done in an attempt to be absolutely faithful to the fixed reality.

There is also an important difference in the way in which most field researchers view the relationship between theory and research. While we agree that the development of theory should always involve a process of research validation, we tend to see theory as emerging from (rather than imposed on) the social field under study so that theory is sometimes developed in (not before) the process of research. As a result, concepts and categories often emerge during the course of field research rather than in the planning stages of the research. This does not mean that the field researcher goes into the field "as a camera" and records all that is to be seen. That is, of course, impossible. One always goes into the field looking for something and using prior knowledge and experience as a guide. The important point here, however, is the use of the field as the basis for theoretical, methodological and even operational development rather than dependence on abstracted models or existing theoretical positions. Our approach in these materials has been to look at the social field under study as a system of implicit rules learned and shared by the members of the social system and used by them in perceiving the objective world--that is selecting certain things as significant, ignoring other things, and making socially and culturally acceptable decisions about their own behavior. The fieldworker's role is to learn the code by examining the "native's" application of the rules. Imagine for example, someone wanting to learn to play the game of bridge. One way is to read or ask someone about how to play. This works effectively if, in fact, there is a codified set of rules. Another way would be by watching people play bridge and learning the rules of how the game is played by watching it in action. Field research strategy is analogous to this latter approach.

None of this should be construed to suggest that field research methodology is a substitute for other methodological approaches to social data in the study of educational administration. Rather, we would argue that the continuing debate between those who maintain that a "hard-headed" view of education requires turning to the social and behavioral sciences for theory which will inform practice and those "soft-hearted" romantics who insist that scientific comprehension destroys the rich variety of qualitatively-colored experience through its preference for mere quantitativeness is an insoluable and useless argument. In our experience, any social action program whether in education, social welfare, or the criminal justice system is doomed to failure unless it grows out of and reinforces some consistent body of theory. It is our view that a theory of practice is neither the vindication of theories derived in isolation from actual practice nor the continuation of the folk lore-based common sense of practice. Rather it is the result of a continuing dialogue between discipline-based concepts and theory and emergent theory grounded in existential exposure to the world of practice in a fashion which improves both the techniques of practice and the knowledge base in the disciplines. What field research techniques and anthropological inquiry offers to educators is an opportunity and a means to (a) examine one's own classroom, school, or school system in an informed and consistent manner and (b) a technology for identifying actual problems in the particular site under study rather than deducing them from some abstract model.

The Social Organization of High Schools Study

The materials upon which this course is built, are based upon a long term field study of three high schools using the approach we have just described. Specifically, we wanted to look at high schools as social units which operate according to an observable code of rules. In the sense that we were using the notion of "rules" here, we were describing a control mechanism, one which regulates and regularizes relationships between the "school" and the outside world as well as within it. It is this code of rules which keeps the school functioning as a social system and defines the various relationships within it. It also establishes who is an insider and who is an outsider. Control systems of this sort begin with values which define what is "good" and what is "bad," what is expected and what is condemned. Ultimately, however, social behavior in the school is guided by specific social rules which attempt to operationalize these values and apply them to everyday situations. Thus, while values give us some general sense of what is expected, it is the social rule which states what actions will be approved and which will be forbidden by other members of that social system.

Taken as a totality, these rules form a code of behavior which members of the groups operating in these settings learn as members of these systems. The code of rules is manifest in their behavior since it defines the equation through which they perceive the objective world and make socially acceptable decisions about how to behave. Since we believe that this code is the key to understanding how social systems operate in schools and in other educational settings, the central question addressed in our research program became "What is the code of rules that makes the high school a social system and how do we prepare people to play this game or to change the game?" Moreover, we felt that we could define the optimal social and behavioral structure for the high school by observing, recording, and analyzing these rules. Throughout the study, teams of anthropologists and educators actually lived in the school communities and observed daily behavior throughout the schools. We used a number of established anthropological techniques: participant observation or becoming a member of the school community and observing what is taking place, event analysis and network charting or observing some incident in the school--whether it was a critical incident or one which happens fairly frequently--and tracing the networks of adults and students involved in the incident, and then developing in-depth descriptions of how the incident is perceived by and affects as many of the individuals involved as we could interview, life histories of teachers and students, and having students interview other students about their experiences in the school.

Once we had decided upon the study, a major problem came in the selection of the schools we wanted to use. The task of selecting the field sites for study was conditioned by the fact that we were interested in discovering basic patterns of relationships in the high school no matter where the high school exists. Therefore, we spent a great deal of time trying to decide whether or not it was possible to describe and select a number of "typical" high school settings in which we could discover "typical" or basic patterns of relationship. We immediately faced the problem of defining "typical" as each team member could provide (and usually did provide) an equally valid, but different set of characteristics for a typical school. Important characteristics such as the socio-economic status of the community, demography, ethnic composition of student and adult populations of school and community, public vs. private school, and school size were discussed in terms of their relative significant in relation to a description of a typical American high school, or, rather, high schools. After much debate on this issue, we decided that for the purposes of our research effort, the search for "typical" high schools was a fruitless one. But although we determined that we could not and need not search for three "typical" or ideal type high schools, we did feel that it would be possible and profitable to select three schools which would give us some necessary variety, while avoiding obviously extreme situations, by using a set of rather intuitive criteria for selecting field sites. So we decided that we would initially avoid culturally extreme situations such as a high school with a totally American Indian or other ethnic population. We realized, however, that it would be equally important to get some variety among the three sites in terms of socio-economic and ethnic characteristics in order to discover basic patterns which operate in schools, whether they are homogeneous or heterogeneous in adult and student population. So we decided that one school site should be ethnically and socio-economically homogeneous in terms of both student and adult population, and at least one site must be ethnically heterogeneous, and one socio-economically mixed. In addition, a rural-suburban-urban continuum framework was decided upon as was an all public high school sample. Once these decisions were made, we faced another problem and that is the accessibility of the sites to the research staff. In an ethnographic study of this type it is, we think, essential for the fieldworkers to live in the community in which the school site is located. In selecting field sites we have chosen communities in which it was possible for at least one member of each team to find places of residence. This provides the fieldworker with opportunities to participate in community activities which may be particularly significant in relation to school affairs.

Once we had selected criteria for field sites, we faced the problem of finding schools which fulfilled these criteria and gaining the acceptance of school authorities in the selected schools. Due to the large number of high schools in the New York metropolitan area, the task of finding appropriate schools at first seemed both easy (a large sample from which we would most probably find what we were looking for) and difficult (with such a large sample, where does one begin?). This matter, however, did not concern us as much as the difficulties we expected to encounter in gaining entry to the schools. School administrators as a group are notorious for their reluctance to permit outsiders (be it university researchers, community groups, or even parents) to enter and talk with people in the school. Visitors from the "outside world," a euphemism for anyone who is not a staff member or student, are often viewed as the enemy, as people who are primarily interested in causing trouble or changing the status quo. This is especially true of urban schools where, due to real concerns about physical safety and vandalism, police have been hired to guard doors and even corridors.

Expecting such resistance from the schools, we decided that it would be in our best interest to approach the schools with offers to provide professional services such as teaching courses or training teachers and students as participant-observers, in exchange for their serving as field sites. In this way our presence in the schools could be justified by more than only a promise to provide the school with a copy of our final report--a theoretical treatise which, in the eyes of many administrators, would perhaps be of questionable use to the school and probably would collect much dust in the school files.

As it happened, we had relatively little difficulty in gaining entry to the schools. In fact, our first choice of schools in the urban, suburban, and rural categories accepted our requests to use these as field sites. In each case we approached the principal of the high school through an outside contact familiar with the school and district and the principal. The administrators at each school were impressed with our offer to provide professional services, although in two out of three cases they have not yet really taken advantage of this exchange offer. Our offers to use pseudonyms for all persons and places described in our reports, thus ensuring privacy and anonymity, were, however, accepted. The schools are in the New York Metropolitan Area, and are known as "Green Valley" (rural), "Sheffield" (suburban), and "Sheridan" (urban inner-city).

As the research proceeded, we faced still another problem. We are now at the point of developing analytic categories and devising ways of relating them among the sites. This is essential since the primary objective of our current project is to discover basic patterns of relationships in high schools by developing ethnographic studies of three high schools and constantly comparing the data collected among the three schools. While we do not propose this as "instant ethnology," we feel that such continuous comparison of data is a preliminary mode of analysis which can inform comparisons. With the depth and scope of data we are collecting in the ethnographies, however, the problem of comparison takes on an added dimension--how can a tremendous amount of data (over 10,000 pages of field notes), collected from three different sites by three separate teams of fieldworkers, be organized and categorized in order to provide an analytic framework for the comparison of data from different sites? In order to solve this problem, we found it necessary to develop a common system of data categorization which permitted easy access to information contained in the field notes so that instant comparability might be achieved. Briefly, the system works as follows. Each field site team developed a list of categories which emerge from the field notes. Field notes are indexed according to these categories. Such categories can be events, places, issues, ideas or values, types of people, or actions. These are "native" categories in that they emerge from informants in the field rather than from abstract classifications created by the fieldworkers. In addition, each team developed a list of preliminary "analytic" categories within which the native categories can be classified. This list provides us with some idea of how we as researchers viewed the native categories in relationship to each other, and which categories seem to be emerging as most significant and therefore needed to be examined more carefully. From these two sources, we generated memo-summaries concerning topics which emerged from the comparison of data from the three sites. These memos served as the foundation for the analyses of the data which form the theoretical framework for these materials.

We learned a number of things about the social organization of the high school as a result of our study. One of the most important, however, and the one which we present here is a scheme for observing and identifying the basic processes in the operation of the school as a social system. This scheme centers around three basic processes which we observed in each of the high schools. These are the sorting process, establishing and maintaining territoriality, and the making and breaking of rules. Sorting is the way in which individuals classify each other into categories and identifications. These classifications may be as simple as "good students"--"bad students," "friendly" or "nasty" teacher, "jocks" or "freaks." Or, they may be less overt, as in the case of "supportive" versus "threatening" student. Sorting into categories such as these seems especially important in situations where an individual can not know every other individual in a social field personally, and can not independently predict his action. However, sorting does take place across the gamut of social relations.

Territoriality is the breaking up and classifying of locale. In schools, important territories may range from the claim of a group of students to a particular bench, the claim of students in general to a lounge, or the claim of a teacher to a classroom. Certain territorial bounds, as in the case of the teacher and the classroom, are functionally related to broad sorting categories. Others develop informally and produce a broad variety of function. An example of the use of a bathroom as a meeting place by students, a way in which to demonstrate their limited autonomy from the administration, and as a place of privacy.

Often issues of sorting or territoriality are very closely related to the management of personal identity. In schools, there is a continual proliferation of rules. This proliferation may vary in rate or in sponsoring individuals, but schools are seldom without it. There is also a differential enforcement of rules. The difference may lie across categories, such as teacher or student, between different individual enforcers, or offenders, over time, or in different places. All of the component factors which cause rules to be made in particular situations and to be enforced in particular situations provide clues to the organization of the school. Systems of rules have considerable inherent ambiguity. When any one rule is enforced by any individual or group against any other individual or group, one must look for the particular reasons. For example, in one of the schools, lesson plans are formally required of all teachers on a regular basis. However, very few teachers regularly turn in their lesson plans. Very few of the vast majority who did not were ever reprimanded for having failed to turn in their lesson plans. When it did occur that such a reprimand was issued, it was an informative point at which to examine the structural relationship of the actors involved.

Sorting, territoriality, and the making and breaking of rules, then, we feel constitute three good ways to approach the organization of social situations. The tripartite scheme seems to use to provide the best balance between the potential for dealing with a variety of different situations and simplicity and parsimony. The activities which constitute the source of each conceptualization are frequently easily observable. While some components of the system are more accessible than others, none is entirely hidden; all are meaningful categories to the members of the systems under study.

In preparing these materials, we also decided to use the actual field notes taken by the anthropologists in the field as the basic course materials. Our reasons were that we hoped that some of the reality of ethnographic study could become part of the materials and because we saw certain advantages to this approach in a course dealing with problem identification and decision making. By using the actual field notes, we hoped that the reader could empathize more directly and more actively with the social actors whose behaviors, attitudes, decisions, and problems are here described. In addition, we felt that the use of actual field notes would provide a challenging and constructive base for dialogue between the reader and the materials as well as with the instructor since it will be obvious that there are no "right" answers in any one of the situations we are discussing. Rather, the important thing to learn is how to take the evidence presented in these actual field notes and to put them together in some logical form which allows problem identification as a basis for informed decision making.

Studying Schools as Social Systems: A Manual for Field Research in Education

The materials are organized into three units. Each presents a comparative analysis of the three school sites from the point of view of a separate level of analysis, the three levels of analysis being arranged in descending orders of abstraction. The three levels of abstraction, in this order, are: (a) the structural level, at which the whole school organization is taken as the unit of analysis; (b) the level of role behavior, at which generalized patterns of behavior are taken as the unit of analysis; and (c) the level of individual strategies in response to the patterns of social constraints described at the previous two levels, at which level the unit of analysis is the living social actor enmeshed in all the complexities and contingencies of daily life in schools. By organizing our materials in this manner, we attempt to convey to the reader of the materials both a sense of the patterns of constraints which can be discerned by field study of a school as well as a sense of the diverse and unique ways in which school people respond to (as well as transform) these constraints in order to survive and succeed in school organizations.

Unit I, organized at the structural level, is entitled "Bureaucratic and Organic Forms of Organization". Under the heading of "bureaucratic forms of organization", we examine and compare the three schools from the standpoint of formal organization. We focus on such features of formal organization as the system of hierarchy represented by the formal organization chart, the specialization of functions as represented by formal job descriptions, and the various systems of formal rules including statutes and the various rules and regulations formulated at many levels of the educational bureaucracy which affect behavior in the school building. Under the heading of "organic forms of organization" we consider those patterns of behavior generated not by the formal organization but rather by the networks of personal relationships among school people. Here we consider such phenomena as the ways in which people group themselves and enter into social action as groups; the informal patterns of influence which sometimes contradict or modify the formally specified hierarchies and specializations of function; and the ways in which personal relationships impinge upon the enforcement (or non-enforcement)of formal rules.

Unit II, organized at the level of role behavior, is entitled "Formal and Emergent Roles". By formal roles, we refer to those roles which are specified for school people in job descriptions, laws such as those requiring school attendance for children, and other formal rules and regulations specifying particular patterns of behavior from different statuses in the school population. By emergent roles, we refer to those patterns of behavior for individuals which we observed during our field work which could not be explained solely in terms of formal roles. We hypothesize that new roles arise in response to contingencies of organizational life which are not provided for by the formal organization, and we attempt to connect these emergent roles to the emergent needs of the organization which produce them. We also examine cases in which emergent roles become formally recognized and incorporated into the formal organization chart and speculate upon the nature and consequences of this process.

Units I and II are both organized around concepts. Concepts are systematically introduced and explained and then illustrated by cases from our data. The organization of Unit III, entitled "Sorting, Territoriality, and Autonomy: Individual and Group Agendas", is structured much differently. Whereas the first two units consist of nearly equal parts of analysis and illustration, Unit III consists primarily of edited incidents taken directly from our data and presented in all their fullness and complexity, rather than merely as illustrations of one narrowly defined conceptual issue. The incidents are connected by a running thread of analysis which brings to bear on each incident the concepts formulated in the first two units (as well as the new concepts of individual strategy and autonomy presented in the Introduction to Unit III), but the analysis in Unit III must emerge for the reader from the concrete cases, rather than having the cases presented as illustrations of a seemingly already worked out system of concepts. There is also much less analysis already worked out for the reader in Unit III, and much more left for the reader to perform for him/herself. By arranging the three units in this order, we first provide the reader with a set of conceptual tools for analyzing the social organization of schools and then give him/her a chance to examine our data almost directly and then try to duplicate (or challenge or modify) the processes of inference by which we journeyed from experience to abstract principles for organizing and understanding that experience.

The analysis that we do provide in Unit III concerns two closely related ideas, those of the strategies of individuals and of the domains of autonomy which individuals and groups establish and maintain for themselves in schools. The idea of individual strategy, as mentioned earlier, is that individuals are never merely typological incarnations of general patterns and norms of behavior but, rather, that individuals are constantly manipulating various systems of expectations and norms as they enter into social action. The idea of individual and group autonomy is that there is another side to the picture of the members of various statuses performing differentiated functions in common pursuit of the organizational goal, e.g. "education", that is presented by formal organization analysis. The other side of this harmonious image is that individuals and groups in schools have their own agendas which may diverge or conflict with the goals of the organization or of others in the organization. Consequently, individuals and groups in schools are often seen to be in competition for space, space conceived both as physical turfs and as psychological feelings of freedom to act as one wishes in a given space.

The control of physical or psychological space in schools is what we call autonomy.

Glossary

This glossary is a listing of some of the terms used in these materials. Some readers may be new to the way social scientists conceptualize their problems--by collective consensus. What is meant by a "norm" or a "role" is a definition mutually agreed upon by social scientists. Yet, as in organizational behavior, deviances do occur. The definitions below should not be taken as universally accepted. Rather, they are what the people who did the research and wrote these materials meant when they used the terms "norm", "role", etc. In any event, these definitions are close enough to what is commonly accepted that the reader of this report should have no problem transferring these conceptual definitions to other literature that uses the same words.

assimilation: the process by which the cultural and social patterns of one group are absorbed into the cultural and social patterns of another group .

autonomy: domains of behavior which individuals and groups create for themselves in organizations and spend much of their time trying to maintain in order to establish their own agendas for action.

bureaucracy: a form of organization based on the rationalization of behavior through fixed roles, hierarchical division of authority, impersonality, and efficiency. Historically, the writings on this form of organization have been associated with Max Weber.

category: a collection of individuals not necessarily participating in the same activity but sharing some common trait, variable or criterion by which they can be differentiated.

emergent role: roles not formally specified which arise in response to the changing needs and problems of the organization.

ethnicity: a set of norms, patterns, and behavior associated with a specific group often characterized by having some nationality or racial typing in common.

event analysis: analysis of status and roles, formal and emergent, interacting at a given point in time in a particular social setting. This method is also sometimes referred to as Critical Incident Technique (C.I.T.).

formal organization: a collection of statuses or positions specified in writing or some other document gathered together for the achievement of some particular purpose or goal(s).

formal organization chart: the graphic representation of positions and lines of authority within an organization.

formal role: those roles explicitly and publicly recognized by people in the organization and which are clearly related to the goals of the organization.

group: a collection of individuals participating in the same activity; a form of category with purposive entity.

human relations theory: a theory of administration developed in the late 1930's and early 1940's which attempted to solve problems of management by use of research findings developed from studies of the informal aspects of organization.

informal organization: all patterns of interaction, particularly personal relations of people in an organization not written down or described by the formal organization chart.

institutionalize: the process by which norms, statuses and other forms of structure become internalized.

network: an association of persons or a system of links joining a set of particular individuals.

network chart: the graphic representation of a network.

norm: a standard of behavior mutually agreed upon by members of a social group which specify acceptable or unacceptable behavior for the members of that group.

organic: a form of organization characterized by personalization of relationships.

primary group: a collection of individuals, associated with any one person, characterized by close and frequent interaction.

role: the individualized behavior of a person holding a specific status.

role-set: the collection of roles associated with any given status.

scientific management theory: a theory of administration founded by Frank Taylor in his 1911 work The Principles of Scientific Management which attempted to solve the problems of management through the development of specific scientific principles.

SES: abbreviation of socioeconomic status which is a form of stratification based on social and economic criteria.

social distance: the psychological (and/or physical) separation between any two or more individuals within an organization.

social organization: the patterned mediation of interpersonal relations.

social structure: a patterned form of interaction which exists over time. (A collective of related social structures functions as a social system.)

sorting: a form of behavior by which people organize themselves into categories or groups.

status: 1. a specified position within a social organization;
2. a social level or hierarchical position within a social system.

stereotype: an expected form of behavior projected upon the inhabitant of generic statuses which may or may not have a factual basis in reality.

stratification: the hierarchical order of statuses based upon some given criterion or set of criteria.

territoriality: the geographic expression of sorting out patterns whereby sorted groups are found to occupy differentiated realms of physical (and/or psychological) space.

total institution: a form of organization characterized by 24 hour maintenance of the participants with barriers to the outside. Conceptually, originated in the writings of Erving Goffman.

UNIT I

BUREAUCRATIC AND ORGANIC STRUCTURES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THREE HIGH SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

One of the most venerable, versatile, and useful concepts in the history of sociological thought is that of the distinction between bureaucratic and organic forms of organization of society. This distinction pervaded the work of the seminal social thinkers of the 19th Century and continues to come up in the work of contemporary social scientists of all persuasions, whether they be sociologists, anthropologists, management theorists, political scientists, or economists. One of the first and most profound formulations of the distinction between bureaucratic and organic forms of organization was offered by the German thinker Ferdinand Tonnies, in his work Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. That title is usually translated in English as Community and Society, but these English words do not really convey the very specific forms of social organization that Tonnies was describing. By "Gemeinschaft," Tonnies designated the kind of social organization which is based on the family, in which the work group is identical with the kinship group, so that "business" and "private life" are not separate realms. By "Gesellschaft" Tonnies designated the type of social organization that is typified by the factory, in which work is organized separately from private life and the emphasis is on the division of labor and the routinization of tasks. Tonnies was writing during the time of the great social changes we often call the Industrial Revolution when the processes of industrialization and urbanization were changing the face of the Western world, and he predicted that social organization would continue in the direction of the factory or business form and away from the kinship form.

Another great social thinker of the 19th Century, Karl Marx, also described the process, although he of course had in mind not only analysis but solutions. In his early philosophical writings, which in the past few decades have been rediscovered with great excitement in both the Communist and non-Communist worlds, Marx inveighed against the "alienation of labor," the separation of the worker from the product of his labor, and from ownership of the means of production, as the chief ill of the modern world. For the young Marx, the division of labor which characterizes bureaucratic, industrial, business forms or organization robs the meaning of work from capitalist and laborer, intellectual worker and manual worker equally. When no one has responsibility for all the phases of the process of production, as Marx saw it, no one can have a real sense of accomplishment in the way, for example, that tribesman does, who builds a canoe for himself, in cooperation with his fellow tribesman and kinsmen, then uses the canoe to fish and provide for himself, his village and kin. It will be noted, however, that as Marx himself grew older and saw his ideas begin to affect the world, and subsequently, as others tried to plan societies on the basis of Marx's later economic formulations, the implementation of his ideas required bureacracy, the division of labor, superordination and subordination, and all the rest of it. Tonnies' prediction proved itself in both capitalist and communist societies. The increase in bureaucratization is one of the major trends in the evolution of modern society.

In the 20th Century, the German sociologist Max Weber analyzed the characteristics of bureaucracy with such precision that his formu[illegible]-

tions have influenced all thought and empirical investigation of the topic ever since. Weber approached bureaucracy as one form of institutionalizing authority relations, which he contrasted to traditional authority represented by feudal society, and charismatic authority, represented by any great leader who commands a following by the strength of his personality rather than by a set of rules or a set of traditions. Like Tonnies, Weber saw that the bureaucratic form of organization was becoming increasingly dominant in the world. Traditional authority can not easily co-exist with the separation of church and state and the separation of business and private life. Charismatic authority works fine for the duration of the charismatic leader's life, but it can rarely be passed on. We will return to Weber's specific analysis of the characteristics of bureaucracy in a moment after surveying some of the other forms of the distinction between bureaucratic and organic that have arisen in social thought.

The counterpart of Weber's theory of bureaucracy can be found in the work of the French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, who emphasized an organic model for explaining and analyzing social organization. Durkheim and his followers saw society as being analogous to a biological cell which has differentiated parts which are very complexly inter-related. Any change in one part of the organism produces a change in the other parts because all the parts are closely and continuously inter-related. One notices immediately that this model is much more similiar to that of the family than to that of the factory. The emphasis is on the complex inter-relationships rather than on division and specialization.

Interestingly, the work of Durkheim has been highly influential in the discipline of socio-cultural anthropology, which, until relatively recently, concentrated its attention on non-Western societies characterized very strongly by forms of social organization based on kinship. The work of Weber, conversely, has been more influential on discipline of sociology and the study of complex, Western society.

It should be pointed out that Weber's and Durkheim's models are not really opposing or competing bodies of theory. Weber recognizes the existence of traditional authority, and Durkheim's thought recognizes the differentiation of functions, although it emphasizes the interrelationships. Both schools of thought address themselves to the distinction between bureaucratic and organic forms of organization. In this unit, we will apply both models to the understanding of empirical behavior in three high schools. Admitting that each model is useful for explaining patterns of behavior in schools, we will examine discrete episodes of behavior and thence attempt to disentangle the aspects of behavior that are attributable to bureaucratic influences and those attributable to organic relations among the people we are observing.

Tonnies, Marx, Weber, and Durkheim were all writing about forms of organization of whole societies or of society in general. One development of modern sociology has been the study of "organizations," that is real, discrete, bounded entities such as businesses, governments or governmental sub-divisions, schools, hospitals, and so on. Organizational theory has had particular concerns with the distinction between bureaucratic and organic forms of organization which has arisen throughout its development in different forms. We will be using some of this organizational language and thus should take account of how the words "bureaucratic" and "organic" can be translated into that language.

One way in which the difference between bureaucratic and organic can be seen to be expressed in organizational theory is in the disputes between the scientific management and human relations schools. It should be noted that the writers of these two schools were not strictly social analysts, but were trying to provide prescriptions for better practice. Therefore, the difference between scientific management writers and their language and human relations writers and their language is a difference in policy as much as it is a difference in conception.

There also exists a more analytically posed opposition in organizational theory between bureaucratic and organic forms of organization. This is usually expressed as the difference between formal and informal organization. Formal organization refers to the formal organization chart specifying the relations of positions and lines of authority in the organization. Informal organization refers to all those patterns, particularly of personal relationships of people in the organization, which are not written down or described by the formal organization chart. Peter Blau, although he stresses beginning from the organization chart and proceeding deductively in the analysis of organizational behavior (which is not the method we will use overall, although we will utilize that procedure) has been one of the important voices calling the attention of management theorists to the patterns of informal organization in an organization.

In the analysis presented here, we will look at behavior as one phenomenon that can be understood only by referring to both concepts, formal and informal, bureaucratic and organic, simultaneously. It is important to grasp the fact that the difference between bureaucratic and organic, formal and informal organization, is a conceptual and not an empirical difference. With regard to any particular interaction among people that one observes, one cannot say that it is a bureaurcratic or organic, formal or informal interaction. Everyone's behavior is constantly influenced by the written rules and other bureaucratic constraints under which we all live. Similiarly, everyone's behavior is constantly influenced by the demands of their relationship with the people with whom they are interacting. One might say, with regard,for example, to a particular interaction between two people in a school setting that the content of that interaction is more influenced by the relationship of the statuses of those two people on the formal organization chart (for example, that they are acting like TEACHER and STUDENT); or, one might say that the interaction is more influenced by the personal relationship of the two people (for example, they may be talking about a basketball team of which they are both fans; that common interest then seems more important than the fact that one is a teacher and one a student). The difference, however, is one of degree. Both the bureaucratic and the organic, the formal and informal dimension must be taken into account for any empirical interaction between or among real people.

Having considered briefly the history of the notions of bureaucratic and organic forms of social organization, let us return now to Max Weber's specification of the characteristics of bureaucracy. Weber calls these characteristics aspects of the "ideal typical" bureaucracy, meaning that they do not have to be found absolutely true of every event that takes place in an organization for that organization to be called a bureaucracy, but, rather, that these are the abstractions that most define and typify a bureaucracy.

1. Specialization. "The regular activities required for the purposes of the organization are distributed in a fixed way as official duties." (Words in quotes are Weber's. See list of readings above for reference). The division of labor in schools can be seen in the various statuses listed on the formal organization chart. None of the formal organization charts of the schools we studied includes students, because they are clients rather than employees of the school organization. The subject of our inquiry, however, is not the formal organization of these schools, but the actual relationships of all the people within the school buildings. Thus, we will treat "student" as a status within the organization, as well as sub-categories such as "vocational student" and "English-as-a-second-language-student," recognizing that these statuses, although still more formal than statuses like "teacher's pet," are not related to staff statuses in the same way that staff statuses are related to each other.

Unit II, entitled "Formal and Emergent Roles," will go far beyond the formal role structure to examine the relations of the formal roles and the actual divisions of labor and specializations of function that can be observed empirically.

2. Hierarchy. "The organization of offices follows the principle of hierarchy; that is, each lower offfice is under the control and supervision of a higher one." The formal organization chart also defines the lines of authority in the organization. Once again, the fact that students are left off the chart with regard to hierarchy shows the ambiguousness of the student's position in the schools. On the one hand, many aspects of behavior in schools support the assumption that students are supposed to be the clients of the organization. On the other hand, there is no question, at least in the three schools under consideration here, that students are "under the control and supervision" of members of other statuses. Thus, in most cases, the empirical reality is that students constitute one of the lowest rungs on the hierarchical ladder.

With regard both to principle of hierarchy and the principle of specialization, it will be seen in the examination of these three schools that the actual operations of school personnel sometimes do and sometimes do not accord with the formally specified relations. The explanation for whether and why the actual and formally specified relations do or do not accord in a given case is to be sought in the organic relations existing alongside the bureaucratic relations.

3. Fixed rules. There is "a consistent system of abstract rules" and operations "consist of the applications of these rules to particular cases." Anyone who is familiar with schools can testify that the rules and the applications of rules is one of their most typical activities. The question of the consistency with which rules are applied is, however, quite open. The fact that, ideally (remember, Weber's characteristics are

ideal-types), rules should be applied consistently is not so controversial. In almost all organizations, however, decisions have to be made constantly as to how much of the organization's resources should be devoted to the enforcement of rules. Even if an organization made the enforcement of rules its top priority, it is doubtful that operations could be run entirely by pre-determined rules because reality is too complex to be fully anticipated in advance. Modern critics of Weber have had much to say on the subject of the consistency of the application of rules.

Human relations writers, and others, have maintained that the attempt to govern operations by fixed rules is only suitable for the accomplishment of uniform tasks; that is, tasks which do not require creative solutions and require only the choice among a small number of unambiguous, mutually exclusive options. Non-uniform tasks, of which the teaching and motivation of children and adolescents certainly seem to be examples, are best accomplished by a person or group of persons with the necessary autonomy to invent and apply unique solutions for unique problems.

In cases where rules can appropriately be applied, however, few in our society would challenge the notion that they should be applied consistently, and that like cases should receive like treatment. Traditional high schools, such as we studied, are very rule-oriented institutions. Our investigations revealed that all three schools had written down many more rules than they had the resources to apply and enforce. Thus, the question of why a rule is applied one way in one instance, or another way or not at all in another instance, becomes one that must be referred to the organic relations of the people in the school.

4. Impersonality. "The ideal official conducts his office... in a spirit of formalistic impersonality." In everyday language, "bureaucracy" and "bureaucrat" are often used as pejorative terms. The allegations most often leveled against them are of "red tape" and "impersonality." The problem of red tape is one that often results from trying to fit non-uniform tasks inappropriately into uniform categories of rules. What Weber meant by impersonality, though, is not an idea of coldness, but one of fairness. As such, impersonality is an extension of the idea that rules should be applied consistently and should be written down so that everyone has the ability to appeal to the same body of law. In this aspect, impersonality is one of the most cherished values of democracy and is symbolized by the statue of Justice blindfolded. The fact that actual behavior owes as much to organic as to bureaucratic relations insures that rules are not always applied impersonally. Nor would we want them to be in all cases, however abstractly fair the principle is. To continue the legal analogy, our laws have provisions for special clemency and for amnesty, provisions which take account of the fact that reality is too complex to be absolutely governed by a system of abstract rules.

In each of the schools we studied, we made extensive observations of the applications of rules to individual cases, and, in each case, the patterns of applications of rules told us a great deal about the informal as well as the formal patterns of organization.

5. Employment based on merit. Members of bureaucracies are supposed to hold their jobs because they are the most qualified people to hold those jobs, rather than on the basis of personal connections or other

considerations. Not only selection of personnel for jobs, but promotion within the organization should be based on merit, although Weber also recognized seniority as a valid basis for promotion, presumably assuming that the experience represented by seniority can be considered meritorious. It will be seen that the principle of merit is closely tied to those of hierarchy and specialization.

Public concern over education in recent years has raised the issue of merit in several ways. In New York City, for example, the process of decentralization has been cited by some school people as a threat to "the merit system." Decentralization can be seen in this context as a policy of making the relations between schools and the populations they serve more organic, which necessarily threatens the established principles of the bureaucratic form of organization.

Recent public attention to the schools has also raised the issue of "accountability." Accountability entails some way of measuring performance whether or whole institutions or of individuals. This measurement of performance is a necessary extension of the principle of merit, for it provides the operational basis for the assessment of merit which is now being demanded of education. As we will see in detail in these three schools, however, evaluation can become such a political issue in schools, that it is difficult to find a way to conduct evaluation that satisfies the criterion of "formalistic impersonality" described above.

One other aspect of the principle of merit, as it figures in the social organization of the high school, is that there can exist several different criteria of merit. The question of the difference between administrative skills and teaching skills is one example where some confusion in standards of merit can be found. There is no logical connection between these two kinds of skills, yet it seems to be a common occurrence that administrators feel compelled to justify their position in the hierarchy by claiming expertise as teachers. A reverse kind of ambiguity arises with respect to teachers who hold higher level degrees than administrators. A doctorate represents one kind of expertise, an administrative license another. Sometimes these are held by the same person, so that one reinforces the other. We will see that the interplay of credentials can be observed in terms of patterns of deference and respect.

One final aspect of merit that we will consider is the role it plays in individual's strategies in what we see as the competition for space and/or privileges within an organization. Formally, merit is supposed to confer certain advantages within a bureaucracy, chiefly promotion within the hierarchy. Informally, however, it can be seen to provide access to other "fringe benefits" not formally allocated or specified, sometimes in contradiction of the formal rules. The area of individual strategies is reserved primarily for Unit III in which it is the major topic.

6. Efficiency. "Experience tends universally to show that the purely bureaucratic type of administrative organization . . . is, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency." Weber's great justification of bureaucracy, that it is the most efficient way to run things, may seem laughable with regard

to some of our everyday associations with the word "bureaucracy," calling up images of "red tape." If we substitute for the common pejorative usage of the word "bureaucratic" the common positive associations of the word "businesslike," we come much nearer to Weber's meaning. Expertise, specialization, hierarchical organization, impersonality, standardized practice, and efficiency all have positive associations when presented as "businesslike virtues." As has already been pointed out, however, different kinds of tasks, e.g. uniform and non-uniform, may be more appropriately dealt with by bureaucratic and organic forms of organization. "Red tape" may result from the inappropriate application of one form of organization to one type of task. There is good evidence that this can occur. Whether it is occurring in a given situation is of course a matter for empirical investigation. Red Tape may also be the inevitable result of a certain level of complexity of organization. This relation was maintained for a long time in organizational theory, although it has been challenged. It too is a matter for empirical investigation. One of the striking differences we will see among our three schools is in the size and complexity of the purely bureaucratic operations, such as scheduling, which are necessary for school operations.

All of the foregoing characteristics of bureaucracy were formulated by Weber and have been the foundation of most organizational theory since, whether the subsequent writers have sought to elaborate the Weberian model, as in the case of the scientific theorists, or whether they have sought to establish an alternative model, arguing against the Weberian model as a point of leverage, as in the case of the Human Relations theorists. There is one further important characteristic of bureaucratic organizations which has been formulated since Weber which should be added to the foregoing list.

7. Goal-setting. Amitai Etzioni, in the tradition established by Talcott Parsons, defines modern organizations by one principal criterion: organizations are goal-directed. The goal-oriented aspect of bureaucracy can also be read into much of Weber's analysis. "Expertise" for example implies special competence in the accomplishment of some kind of task.

One of the major differences in the way that members of modern, Western societies conceive of their social order, as contrasted with societies still organized more organically, around kinship, is that Westerners conceive the possibility, often the necessity, of planned, rational social change. This is not to say, of course, that these same people are not aware of the enormous difficulties involved in the attempt. Perhaps the reason that organizational theorists have been fascinated for so long by bureaucratic theory is that it represents that area of social organization which can be planned and rationally manipulated for the betterment of society. Organic relations, by definition, are those which arise spontaneously from the evolution of natural systems, and thus cannot be planned. We will see some examples of policy formulation and implementation in these three schools and analyze the diverse ways in which plans for change encounter and interact with the natural systems, the systems of organic relations, on which the policies are supposed to be imposed.

Weber's model of bureaucracy, augmented by the principle of goal-setting, is an extraordinarily useful tool for analyzing bureaucratic forms of organization because of its accuracy and parsimony, as well as because the aspects of organizations detailed therein are so easily discovered by the interested analyst. One of the requirements of formal organization charts, fixed rules, and formal job descriptions alike is that they must be written down and accessible to those to whom they apply. Aspects of informal organization, on the other hand, are not so easily discoverable. Demographic information such as is contained in census reports can provide valuable information about the characteristics of the human population of an organization, but the task of discovering the patterns of informal organization cannot be accomplished at a desk. For this purpose, the techniques associated with the discipline of anthropology, including participant-observation and the gathering of qualitative data, must be employed. The people in an organization must be observed as they participate in their day-to-day activities. Thus, the characteristics of organic relations are as varied and spontaneous as the characteristics of bureaucratic relations are planned and fixed. Nevertheless, some characteristics of organic relations have already been described inasmuch as they are the counterparts of bureaucratic characteristics and are negatively defined by those characteristics. Here is a brief list of such characteristids which will be followed by a list of some of the anthropological ways of looking at social organization that we have used in order to get at the character of organic relations in these schools.

1. Personal relationships and informal networks supersede formally specified hierarchy and specialization as organizing principles. When the actual division of labor depends more on the informal agreements of the people involved than on written job descriptions; when the actual power and influence of particular individuals seems to contradict the formal hierarchy, then these patterns can be seen as those of organic relations. When actual division of labor and patterns of relative influence do accord with formal specifications, consequently, the organic dimension must still be considered. In these cases, the organic dimension may be seen as reinforcing the bureaucratic dimension.

2. Decision-making takes place on a personal, non-uniform basis. The matter of the appropriateness of organic forms of organization for non-uniform tasks has already been discussed. Efficiency may even be enhanced by allowing organic relations to govern the organization of non-uniform tasks, although efficiency is not necessarily a characteristic or value of organic forms of organization.

3. Personal relations supersede merit as a basis of the establishment of hierarchical relations. This consideration thrusts our attention squarely towards the political arena, in schools or with reference to any other institution. The opposition of decentralization and the merit system has already been mentioned. It should be further noted that that opposition is political on both sides, since those who have advanced by the merit system certainly have a vested interest in that system. The fact that someone has a vested interest in some aspect of bureaucratic organization, however, should not prevent us from still

being able to consider the implications of bureaucracy as an ideal-type, that is, as an abstract form of social organization which is vital to the operation of society as we have constructed it and which we see in operation all around us.

During the course of our fieldwork, we agreed to concentrate on three broadly defined areas of behavior in our attempt to discover the patterns of organic relations at our three sites. A description of these three areas of behavior shows how we went about eliciting the patterns of informal relations from the complex behavior we observed.

1. Sorting. Sorting may be defined as the behavior by which people organize themselves into groups. The nature of a "group" may be defined by distinguishing "groups" from "categories." Categories are constituted by a criterion or set of criteria by which people can be separated into mutually exclusive aggregations. This is a conceptual separation and may or may not accord with the way people interact in reality. "All people with red hair" is a category, even if all the people in a school with red hair don't know each other, don't like each other and never speak to each other. A group, in contradistinction, is a purposive entity. A group consists of people who act in concert, whether that collected action consists of sharing the poetry of Shakespeare or smoking cigarettes in the bathroom. It will be noticed that the former example, should it take place in an English class, seems to be an example of a bureaucratically generated group; that is, if the collective action is formally specified by a planned curriculum. The latter example represents an organically generated group. As has been stressed, the

difference between bureaucratic and organic influences is a matter of degree. It is doubtful if a productive group lesson on Shakespeare could be accomplished unless there existed some system of personal relations among those involved. As for bathroom smokers, they would not be in school in the first place if the existence of schools and the fact of compulsory attendence were not matters of written law.

As we first came into contact with the three field sites of our study, we became aware of certain categories into which we could divide the three populations. These included categories distinguished by age, ethnicity, residence, and position in the organizational hierarchy. The question of what influence, if any, these categories had on actual sorting patterns was one which we had to answer empirically during the course of our study. Our findings will be discussed in this unit and in the subsequent units.

Much of the material in this first unit will deal with the relative influence of bureaucratic and organic factors on sorting patterns in these three schools. Bureaucratic influences on sorting will be considered to be those which can be related to the formal organization charts and other bureaucratic divisions of people, such as those involved in scheduling and programming of classes and activities. Thus, bureaucratic influences on sorting are those which can be related to the structure of the school organization as it is detailed in various written documents. Organic influences are those which are not related to the formal structure of the school. One large area of organic influences is the set of relationships which are formed outside the school and then operate inside the school. Since sorting refers specifically to actual personal relations, however, a group that is formed inside the school may also be said to operate organically if their operation, once the group is formed, can no longer be attributed to bureaucratic influences.

One interesting question to be considered is the process by which people who do not know each other outside the school are thrown together inside the school by virtue of being members of some identical category.

2. Territoriality. Territoriality may be defined as geographical expression of sorting patterns, whereby sorted groups are found to occupy differentiated realms of physical (and/or psychological) space. We found that territoriality is an extremely useful way for getting at sorting patterns in schools, perhaps because schools now exist in carefully delimited, bounded, and parcelled out regions of space. Our concept of psychological space refers to the fact that, although more than one individual or group may be present in a certain area of physical space at a given time, one of those individuals or groups may have more or less influence over the norms that prevail in that space. Situations where there seems to be conflicting sets of norms present in the same space at the same time are of special interest to us in that they show the existence and operation of variously sorted groups.

3. Rule-making and rule-breaking. In the bureaucratic model, rules are considered as fixed, written norms of behavior. In practice, however, rather than in an ideal, abstract formulation, individuals are constantly interpreting, invoking or not invoking, avoiding, or manipulating rules. This latitude with respect to rules of all sorts results

from the fact that rules are too simple, too abstract to anticipate the contingencies that arise in reality. We also found that the stances of individuals and groups towards various rules provided us a great deal of information about sorting behavior and about the inter-relationships of formal and informal norms of behavior.

The case material that we have collected from each of the schools for this unit will deal with three kinds of inter-relationships of bureaucratic and organic forms of organization.

(a) The inter-relationship of bureaucratic and organic structures within each high school. It has been stressed that any episode of behavior in a school can be explained with regard to either set of characteristics, bureaucratic or organic, and that a complete explanation of behavior will require an analysis of each dimension and the interactions of the dimensions. We will try to do this for certain aspects of behavior in each school.

(b) The comparative analysis of two or three of the schools with respect to different proportions and qualities of bureaucratic and organic forms of organization. It has also been mentioned that, although both dimensions must always be taken into account, one dimension may predominate. Also, bureaucratic styles can differ, and organic styles are as various as human groups.

(c) The movement between bureaucratic and organic modes of organization. We have discovered several examples in our notes of cases where some activity that was informally organized becomes formalized, or where the rigidity of a bureaucratic structure begins to break down, as a result of tensions built into the bureaucratic structure itself, into organically structured units.

The case material will first be presented and analyzed for each school. The comparative analysis will accrue as we progress through the three schools, as will the analysis of movements back and forth between the two forms of organization.

BUREAUCRATIC AND ORGANIC FORMS OF ORGANIZATION IN GREEN VALLY HIGH SCHOOL

Formal and Informal Authority Within the School

The first situation in Green Valley High School to be examined in which can be seen a conflict between bureaucratic and organic forms of organization concerns the discrepancy between the lines of authority as found in the formal organization chart of the school and the actual patterns of control and influence we observed. The formally designated chief authority in the school was George Wyatt, the principal. According to the chart, he is responsible for supervision of department chairmen and teachers and must answer to two levels of authority above him--the District Principal and then the Board of Education. Informally, however, Mr. Wyatt had a great deal of trouble establishing his right and ability to direct the school's activities in the eyes of those both above and below him in the hierarchy. Inside the school building, the greatest amount of influence could be seen to be held by one department chairman and a number of teachers.

Mr. Wyatt, although he had been in this school system for several years, had been trained in New York City and was considered an outsider by many in the school. He was in his first year as principal during the time of our fieldwork. He evidently considered himself an innovator, but his attempts at innovation ran afoul of his personal relations with the Board and with the chairman of the English Department, Mr. David Burton. (Note: the full complexities of Mr. Wyatt's role as principal, including his roles of "outsider" and "innovator" will be detailed in Unit II:

Formal and Emergent Roles.)

In a conversation with our fieldworker early in the study, Mr. Wyatt told her a story about his failed attempt to loosen the scheduling system in the school. He had wanted to eliminate the bell system, perhaps as a first step in creating a modular programming system. Before he could present his plan to the Board, however, stories of his intention were leaked to the community by Mr. Burton, the English chairman. Subsequently, both the Board and the PTA protested and rejected the innovation before he even had a chance to present his proposal. Mr. Wyatt was not off to an auspicious start in his first year as principal. The informal communication channels manipulated by a figure of informal authority (Mr. Burton) had squelched the formal authority, the principal, and had prevented the operation of the formal communication channels.

Another situation in which Mr. Wyatt ran into difficulties with both the people in the school and those in the community was that involving a series of events around a controversy in the school and the community over the rights of students to smoke inside the school. Students had always smoked during the day in this school system, but the opening of a new high school building created difficulties which eventually provoked community outrage, of which Mr. Wyatt unwittingly became the brunt. The new building was located outside of town and students could no longer walk across the street to the coffee shop as they had once done. Instead, the student smokers created a sort of clubhouse atmosphere in the student bathrooms. When younger students and custodians began to complain about this situation, a group of the smoker students decided to confront the school board and ask for the creation of student smoking lounge in the school. ((The students' request can be seen as an attempt to incorporate within the formal structure of the school a pre-existing informal pattern. Statements within these double parentheses are analytic statements relating the case material to our theoretical framework.))

To the eventual dismay of everyone in the school, however, the Board reacted to the smoker students' request with outrage, laying great stress on the fact that New York State law prohibits the purchase of cigarettes by anyone under 18 years of age. ((Note the appeal by the Board members to written rules, in this case, state law, as a justification for their policy.)) Mr. Wyatt soon felt the repercussions of this event as members of the Board cited smoking in the bathrooms as evidence of his inability to control the school. In particular, Mr. Wyatt was beginning to develop hostile personal relations with one member of the Board, Mr. Robert Logan.

The smoking controversy dragged on throughout the year of our study. Students continued to smoke in school while certain members of the community blew the issue up in the local newspapers. Mr. Wyatt himself told our observer and faculty members that he thought the issue silly and that students should be able to smoke. Bowing finally to pressure from the school board, however, he issued a circular detailing a set of anti-smoking rules, including teacher patrol assignments which soon came to be dubbed "potty patrol" by the teachers. Ironically, however, Mr. Wyatt received no credit for finally making a decision and instituting a policy. Everyone in the school thought that the rules had come from the Board, and Mr. Wyatt never corrected that mistaken impression. He was seen by everyone as having gotten himself into a mess. He had the formal authority to institute such a policy, he had used that power appropriately, but the action injured rather than enhanced his image as a leader.

Let us turn our attention now to David Burton, the head of the English Department, the man who thwarted Mr. Wyatt's attempts at innovation. Although Mr. Burton was formally subordinate to Mr. Wyatt, his actual influence in the school was far greater than the principal's. Our observer has recorded that, when she first came into the school, many teachers told her that one person who would never let her observe his classes or cooperate with her was Mr. Burton. He did cooperate with her, but the comments of the teachers indicate the awe in which they held him. Many other comments by teachers during the year showed great deference toward the English chairman. "Wait till Mr. Burton hears about this," they would say, or "Mr. Burton will never go along with that." A further indicator of his influence in the school is the fact that, when the new school building was being constructed, he demanded and received a stage built across his classroom. The source of Mr. Burton's influence can be found in his long tenure in the system. He had taught there for 20 years and had been born in the area. He was respected in the local area as well as in the school specifically. ((In contrast to the principal, the English chairman was very much an "insider" in this rural area and school system.))

Our observer was able to identify other teachers of influence by observing the territorial patterns in the teachers' lunch room. The teachers grouped at the same tables every day, and one table in particular seemed to dominate the room. Two teachers in particular, Mr. Reynolds and

Mr. Norton, demonstrated the ability to control social interactions in the room, and, in one case, even to control who came into the room. Their method of control was teasing. When a new teacher came into the room, they would begin loudly and mercilessly harassing him (or her, although the women on the faculty all sat at one table, together with one male teacher of very low prestige) about some detail, such as a loud pair of socks that one such hapless newcomer was wearing. In one such case, the new teacher never entered the lunch room again for the rest of the year.

By keeping seating charts throughout the year, our observer was also able to document the ascent in prestige of another new teacher, a Mr. Jenkins. When Mr. Jenkins first came into the school, he sat at one of the low prestige tables. The Reynolds/Norton table was populated entirely by men, most of whom were coaches of one of the athletic teams. The influence of athletics in the school results from the fact that they are a considerable source of extra revenue for the school. By the end of the year, Mr. Jenkins was sitting at the coaches' table and had gotten himself a coaching position. ((The influence of athletic coaches is in no way formally specified. In fact, the position of "coach" does not even appear on the formal organization chart. It is considered an extra duty of teachers. In actuality, however, the coaches are the socially dominant group among the Green Valley teachers.))

Besides their informal control in the teachers' lunch room, Reynolds and Norton also held formal roles as powerful teachers. They were both activists in the teachers' organization which threatened but did not carry out a strike that year. Their work in the teachers' organization also caused them to associate extensively in the lunchroom with two other teacher activists, Mr. Ashley and Mr. Sears. ((Here we see an example of an overlap between formal and informal influence. Also, the increased personal interactions among all four of these men as a result of their union work can be seen as an example of bureaucratic influences on sorting patterns.))

Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Norton also seemed to have some measure of contempt for the principal, Mr. Wyatt. In a conversation among the two of them and our observer, Mr. Norton told her, 'He gets all he knows about teaching out of books." ((Notice in this comment the implied contrast between formally certified expertise (the principal's administrative license and Master's degree) and teaching expertise based on experience.)) This remark by Mr. Norton came in the context of a discussion of the technique of Large Group Instruction which these two men had instituted by combining their Social Studies classes. The principal had expressed disapproval of the LGI technique for high school students. Perhaps the principal was bitter that these two men were able to implement an innovation when he was not able to institute his. We cannot document this inference about the principal's attitudes, but the fact remains that the informal teacher leaders had more ability to introduce changes in instruction than did the principal.

Bureaucratic and Organic Influences on Sorting

Of the three schools in our study, Green Valley showed the most evidence of the influence of personal ties outside of the school on sorting patterns inside the school. Even in Green Valley, though, we observed examples of bureaucratic influences on sorting, that is, dyads and groups which seem to have come into being as a result of some aspect of the formal structure of the school.

One of the principal's few allies in this school system was the District Principal, James O'Reilly. In our observer's first meeting with Mr. Wyatt, he told her of his great admiration for Mr. O'Reilly as a person and as an educator. Mr. Wyatt attributed many of his own ideas about education to O'Reilly and said that he considers the other man a kind of mentor. Wyatt also mentioned that he is a personal friend of O'Reilly's and that the two men have taken camping trips together.

It was also apparent to our observer that many teachers and students knew about each other's lives outside of school. Although this familiarity was seldom manifested in the classroom, it could be observed in the commons, a less formal setting. Our observer made this note about the commons: "Here the students talk to the teachers about their families, their boyfriends or friends (though I've never seen boys talk about girl friends), their trouble with homework, etc. Mr. Kramer has a group of several girls he talks with, Mr. Simmons has a group of several girls and one boy, and Mr. Lorenti has his little group of girls and boys with whom he banters and whome he sometimes helps with their homework." ((The contrast between the commons situation and the classroom situation is striking. These same people interact much more formally in the classroom. The influence of bureaucratic characteristics, such as the goals represented by classroom lessons, on interaction patterns stand out clearly.))

The dyadic alliance between Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Norton, which has been seen to operate in the teachers' lunch room, in the combined classroom, and in the teachers' organization, also has a base outside of the school. They are close friends outside of the school. We don't know if they originally became friends inside the school or outside, but we can see that their relationship cross-cuts bureaucratic and organic characteristics.

There are many instances among the student population of Green Valley which demonstrate the operation inside the school of groups formed outside the school. The major sorting pattern among students is that of sorting along residential lines. Green Valley High School serves the residents of nine different villages and the farmland in between. Students from each of these villages tend to associate together inside the school. Our observer's analysis of sorting patterns among students was obtained by asking student informants to identify the various cliques (the student's word) in the school. She also kept seating charts of the students' cafeteria. She found that seating in the cafeteria tended to be by grade ((a bureaucratic influence on sorting)) and by hometown ((organic influence)).

In addition, various roles in the school could be associated with various of the local communities. The high prestige group of students came almost entirely from two of the communities, Silver Lake, where the school building is located, and Harmondale. Their prestige became formally established in the school in the roles of cheerleaders and athletic team members. The class officers also came from these communities. One of our observer's student informants used to complain bitterly about the election of these "Beautiful People (Silver Lake and Harmondale are also where the wealthier families live). She said that they did nothing to gain their offices or to keep them, and she was forming a committee to oust them, although she seems not to have succeeded. ((This girl's reaction reveals her valuing of a bureaucratic characteristic--the holding of office through merit--and her disvaluing of an organic characteristic--holding a social status through birth)).

Another residentially based friendship group was the group of students considered "freaks" (in the sense of wearing long hair and related characteristics) by others in the school. Most of the students in this group came from the community of Venice, and, further, many of them are kin. A generation ago there had been a family with 14 children in Venice. That generation in turn produced over 90 offspring, several of whom were in the school during our study. Social organization on the bases of kinship is of course the organic characteristic par excellence. Although we did find isolated instances of kin relations inside the other two schools, usually in the case of two or three siblings, it is striking that only in the rural school do we find a significant grouping of people based on the ancient principles of social organization by kinship and by attachment to the land.

One grouping of students that was based on activities outside the school could be seen operating as an action-set inside the school. This was the so-called Conklin clique. The leader of this group was a boy named Fred Healy who had quit school. The boys and girls formed a drinking group outside the school, and they once had an encounter with one of the industrial arts teachers, Mr. Tessio. While driving around one afternoon they had knocked down part of the fence around the teacher's house. He had come out to make them repair it. Since that time, the members of the clique inside the school had cooperated in harassing Mr. Tessio.

Another group of students associated together inside the school on the basis not of their current residence, but on the basis of a common past residence and certain cultural differences they had brought with them and which set them apart from the students who had always lived in this rural region. These were those students who had once lived in New York City. They had to endure some teasing about being "city kids" and were somewhat set apart on the basis of that status, but one of these students at least was very popular and was one of the few students who table-hopped in the cafeteria.

It should be mentioned also that these residential sorting patterns among students overlap to some extent with sorting by occupation and socio-economic level of their parents. There are two main classes of occupation in the area, agricultural, which is on the decline, and industrial-professional, which are associated with the international corporation which has its main headquarters in this area. The Conklin clique, the cousins from Venice, and other groups, tend to be the children of the agricultural-related families. The "beautiful people" and the "city kids" tend to be the children of the corporation families.

Besides these organic influences on sorting behavior in Green Valley High School, which we have considered to be the formation outside of the school of action-sets which operate inside the school, there were some sorting patterns that could be attributed to the formal organization of the school itself, that is, to bureaucratic influences. It has already been mentioned with regard to student seating patterns in the cafeteria that students grouped at tables according to their grade level in the school as well as according to their hometowns. Several students also told our researcher that, although they do hang around with others from their hometowns, they do so less inside school than outside. These students attributed a sort of "melting pot" effect to the school's influence on their social groupings.

Two groups of students who regularly associated inside the school could be seen to be the result of the high school's bureaucratic characteristic of grouping people together on the basis of some criteria of merit and specialization. One very close group of three girls has the highest grades in the school and were constantly together, often studying together. At the other end of the merit spectrum, the vocational students who were members of the BOCES program were very much set apart from the other students. The BOCES students only came to the main building in the morning and took their vocational course at a special facility several miles away in the afternoon. The long, extra bus rides that these students shared contributed to their solidarity as a group.

Among teachers, groupings on the basis of the formal organization of the school could also be seen. The two BOCES teachers, for example, were thrown together by their specialized function, much as were the BOCES students. The two guidance counselors also associated, by their own account, because of their formal roles. According to one of them, the administration viewed them as teachers and the teachers viewed them as administration. This ambiguity in their formal role contributed to their associating together inside the school.

The major influence of the formal organization chart on the separation of people into groups inside the school, however, was the division of people into the mutually exclusive categories of students, teachers, administrators, etc. along with all the rules setting them physically apart during various periods of the day, such as in their respective lunchrooms. This sorting pattern is observable in all three schools we studied. It may seem an obvious characteristic of high schools, but it must be pointed out in order to realize, in the first place, its overwhelming influence on the ways in which people cooperate together and struggle against each other in groups; and, in the second place, in order that one can assess the significance of those situations in which such separations as teacher/student break down. We have already seen that the interactions in the commons in Green Valley are one set of exceptions to this general pattern of separation of people according to their formal status in the hierarchy.

Given that there are a significant number of sorting patterns in Green Valley which may be said to be the result of bureaucratic influences such as merit, specialization, and hierarchy, the overall picture of sorting in the rural school is dominated by the importance of organic patterns, those based on residence, kinship, and association outside the school. We will also see organic influences on sorting in the other two schools, but the proportion and importance of them is not nearly so striking as in the rural school. Thus, by weighing the relative influences of bureaucratic and organic influences on sorting in Green Valley, we have learned something about the way this school operates and the way people in the school cooperate and divide. If we reflect back for a monent on the smoking controversy and the furor it created in the region, we can see that this school is not so autonomous from community and regional influences and that the weight of rural tradition and the complex of relations of the people in the area, sometime going back generations, constrains any attempt within the school to change the way things are done in the school.

Rules and the Manipulations of Rules

Mr. Wyatt, the principal of Green Valley High School, was known to students largely in the role of disciplinarian. For all his political troubles, he was known to be a stickler for rules within the school. In one conversation with our fieldworker, the principal strongly iterated one of the chief principles of bureaucratic organization, that rules should be applied uniformly to all individuals. He made this point in a discussion about a school in a neighboring area that had had racial troubles. Mr. Wyatt accused the other principal of treating the students involved differently according to their color. He strongly disapproved this policy. Within his own school, however, we were able to observe that rules were not always uniformly applied. As was discussed in the Introduction, it is usually a practical impossibility to enforce all the rules all the time, and the patterns of when they are or are not enforced can often tell the analyst something about the social organization of the school.

With regard to the operations of classrooms in Green Valley, we found that the variances between classrooms could often be explained in terms of the rules to which the teacher was subject as well as in terms of the rules to which the teacher made the class subject. Both kinds of rules are associated with another bureaucratic characteristic, ranking on the basis of merit, and the performance standards which exist for assessing merit.

In the other two schools, we found that there existed very explicit school policies with regard to the desired style of classroom instruction. The instructional policy in Green Valley was not as explicitly formulated on paper as was the case in the other two schools. Nevertheless, we were able to observe that certain kinds of behavior in Green Valley classrooms were acceptable whereas other kinds of behavior clearly were not.

The most striking example of deviant classroom style concerned a special sociology class which our observer helped teach with a young social studies teacher, Sean O'Hare. In this class, students did not stay strictly in their seats, sometimes called the teachers by their first names, and, since it met first period, brought food and ate breakfast in class. This unorthodox classroom behavior caused consternation for the teachers across the hall, one of whom complained to the principal. The principal called in O'Hare and invoked a school rule against him which prohibited eating in class. Interestingly, this rule was never invoked against the aforementioned Mr. Burton, the informal power in the school, who sometimes allowed his first period students to bring in food from the cafeteria. This differential enforcement of rules can definitely be related to prestige in the school. Mr. O'Hare was considered an outsider even by the principal. Also, one sees in this reaction to a different way of doing things an invocation of certain implied standards of classroom behavior maintained by the school.

The principal ordered the eating stopped because that was explicitly against the rules. Eating in class, however, was but one of a series of transgressions of accepted behavior that had upset other teachers in the school.

Mr. Burton, on the other hand, also took other liberties with the way he ran his classes. One of his practices, unique in this school, was to have students grade themselves. This practice of having people evaluate themselves is a rather radical reorientation of the bureaucratic principle of maintaining uniform performance standards and evaluation procedures. Mr. Burton was able to introduce such an innovation because of his position of prestige.

His practice of having students grade themselves seems to be part of his more general philosophy of education. A student we interviewed who described the difficulties of dealing with Mr. Burton's grading system told us, "Mr. Burton told me once that he didn't believe that a child should be pushed through school. He should learn at his own pace. If he didn't get the hang of something, then let him work it out for himself and try to find out for himself if he really enjoys it and if he can really learn it." In another context, Mr. Burton once told another teacher that "individualized instruction is nothing new. I've been doing it for years." Mr. Burton's philosophy and classroom policies raise the question, suggested in the Introduction, of the appropriateness of strict rules and standards in the classroom. If learning is to be considered a non-uniform task, then, according to many human relations writers, the approaches to the motivation of students should be unique and various. Mr. Burton's policies seem to support this view.

Few other teachers in this school have Mr. Burton's freedom to experiment, however. Although they look up to him, they do not emulate his policies. Mrs. Clark, a math teacher who had been in the school for years also, took the opposite position with regard to classroom management and explained her reasons to our observer in an interview. When Mrs. Clark first came into the school, she told us, she had been used to teaching younger children, and she had some difficulty controlling her classes for the first two years. After conferring with the old principal many times on how to discipline her classes, she was told that she had better establish an order-keeping policy or she probably would not be asked to stay. She said, "After that, I got to master the situation. So I laid down some rules and regulations. I stayed after school with these kids. I really worked, and I began to get the top hand. And by the end of the second year, I was doing pretty well."

The common experience of Mrs. Clark and Mr. O'Hare was that keeping a certain kind of order is an unambiguous standard of performance in this school. Lack of that order poses an immediate threat to one's job and to one's autonomy in the classroom. Thus, the standards of performance applied to teachers have a direct result in the rules and enforcements that are applied to students. The amount of variation in these standards can also be related to the prestige and influence of the teacher in question. Mr. Burton's formal position as department chairman is part of the justification for the liberties he takes with classroom management. His informal influence, not only with teachers but with students, also allows him to innovate without getting into trouble.

Another problem with achieving the bureaucratic ideal of uniform rule enforcement is that many people are required as enforcers, even in a relatively small school like Green Valley, and different individuals tend to take different stances toward rules. In other words, the human element disrupts bureaucratic regularity. It was mentioned earlier that the smoking issue resulted in new enforcement duties for teachers which the teachers promptly dubbed "potty patrol" because the duties entailed policing the bathrooms. There were many variations in the enforcement of this policy. Most teachers felt ambivalent about the new rules, but some felt more compelled to implement them than others, and the students soon learned which teachers to fear. One whom they knew would not prosecute them was Mr. Lloyd, a young science teacher. He told our observer one afternoon that he had just stepped outside and found seven students standing over nine warm cigarett butts. Two other students, apparently belonging to the unaccounted for butts, were already running along the road. Mr. Lloyd had refused to make a case out of the circumstantial evidence. When recounting the incident to our fieldworker, he held up his hands and said, "What am I supposed to do? I'm not a policeman."

The whole topic of rules, how they are made, and when they are or are not enforced is quite a broad one and we shall return to it in Unit III. The emphasis of the third unit will be on the perspective of the individual and how the individual responds to and manipulates rules in order to establish some space for him/herself in a school. In this unit, the emphasis is on the perspective of the organization and how the actual formulation and enforcement of rules depends both on a certain ideology about rules (that they should be uniform) and on organic factors which both allow differential enforcement of rules on the basis of personal connections and informal prestige and make possible the fitting of complex reality into the more ideal system represented by a set of abstract rules.

Bureaucracy and the Distancing of Responsibility

One aspect of bureaucracy that has received a great deal of attention lately is the manner in which it tends to remove responsibility from the individual and displace onto the system of rules and procedures. On the one hand, we consider impersonality a necessary feature of democratic society, e.g. Justice blindfolded, but on the other hand, impersonality has recently been seen to be the source of much buck-passing. This was one of the morals that many writers and observers drew from the Watergate scandals in which many of those accused justified their actions on the basis that they were simply following orders, that is, acting out their roles in a hierarchy established by law. By stressing impersonality in the enforcement of rules, bureaucracies displace the responsibility for enforcing the rules from the enforcer to the system itself. Our observer in Green Valley noticed several examples of this process in Green Valley.

When she first began observing classrooms in Green Valley, our fieldworker was curious about the fact that teachers would often ask the students how much time was left in the class period. After more experience in the school, she confirmed the fact that the bell schedules were always posted in the faculty areas of the school. Concluding that the teachers knew perfectly well the time schedule, she concluded that the practice of asking the students the schedule was a technique for shifting the responsibility for staying in class for 45 minutes onto the students themselves, who now functioned as the class's timekeepers.

In another case, the fieldworker observed the technique of a teacher who was harangued by one of her students, a "city kid," who wanted his assigned reading changed from a Sinclair Lewis book to Manchild in the Promised Land, a novel about Harlem. This particular teacher was in a similar social position to the students in that she had a number of citified mannerisms, including her way of dressing and her use of feminist rhetoric, for which she was teased by other teachers. In reply to the student she said that the curriculum was not a matter of her choice. In this case, not only was the teacher removing responsibility from herself for the assigned reading, but she was establishing a rapport with the student based on their common urban background, which rapport can be seen as cutting across the normal student/teacher sorting pattern that results from the formal hierarchy.

Another issue which united rather than separated students and teachers in response to an external bureaucratic requirement was that of the Regents exams given all over New York State. There was widespread complaint among both students and teachers in Green Valley over the state requirement for the administration of the Regents' exams. Both groups considered the exams a waste of time.

We have already seen that some teachers took potty patrol more to heart than others. The phenomenon of bureaucracy distancing responsibility could be seen in the attitudes of both sets of teachers, those who became enforcers and those who resisted. One woman who became an enforcer was observed saying to a group of students grumbling over the newly instituted rules, "Don't complain to me. Those rules come directly from the school board which your own parents elected. If you have complaints, that's where you should take them." Her statement was of course incorrect, since the principal had made the rules, but, of course, neither she nor the students were aware of the fact. We noted earlier that the principal lost considerable face in the school and in the community because no one credited him for taking charge, as he in fact had done. It is impossible to know exactly why he did not assert his part publicly and take credit. The above situation provides one hypothesis, however, which is that perhaps he did not want to take responsibility for the rules and intended for the board to take the brunt of the dissatisfaction within the school which resulted from the new rules while claiming implicitly or explicitly that he was "just doing his job and enforcing the rules."

BUREAUCRATIC AND ORGANIC FORMS OF ORGANIZATION IN SHEFFIELD HIGH SCHOOL

Formal and Informal Specialization in Sheffield

We did not find in Sheffield the kind of discrepancy between formal authority and actual influence that we found in Green Valley in the case of Mr. Wyatt, the principal, and Mr. Burton, the chairman of the English department. The principal of Sheffield, Dr. Gebhardt, was a policy-maker of some demonstrated effectiveness. We did find, however, several divisions of labor in the school that could not be ascertained from the formal organization chart or the formal job descriptions. We also found that the formal organization of this school is more flexible than in the other two schools and could be observed to change in response to emergent organizational needs.

The division of labor between Dr. Gebhardt, the principal, and Mr. Chevalier, the Assistant Principal, follows the formal job descriptions generally. The principal's job description often includes the words "shall be ultimately responsible" indicating both the principal's general leadership and final, formal authority within the school with regard to all activities. The "ultimate responsibility" clauses, however, indicates that the actual performance of these functions is expected in many cases to be delegated. Dr. Gebhardt's creating of his role as principal involved so much delegation that a teacher once joked to the Assistant Principal, "Where's your assistant?", referring to the principal. This joke reflects the principal's thorough delegation of discipline, scheduling, and teacher evaluation to the vice-principal.

The formal job description for the vice-principal clearly states all three of these responsibilities. According to this document, the vice-principal "is responsible for the detailed completion of the schedule in terms of space assignments as well as assignments of teacher and pupil personnel," "observes teaching, confers with teachers following a visit and follows up results of the conference," and "supervises puils' conduct around the building other than in the classroom." In practice, Mr. Chevalier, the AP, does take responsibility for all these activities, but we observed during our fieldwork that he emphasizes some functions more than others. Teacher evaluation in Sheffield is definitely underplayed. Mr. Chevalier once mentioned to one of our observers that the vice-principal of a neighboring school spends half his time observing teachers, of which he did not approve, or, at least, find necessary in this school. Thus, his function as teacher evaluator is definitely underplayed. In the one case where there was concern over one department in the school, with regard both to teaching style and curriculum development, the principal took charge of this project himself. By delegating most of the day-to-day duties, Dr. Gebhardt appears to have freed himself to work on such ad hoc projects.

Though the vice-principal underplays his responsibilities as teacher evaluator, he emphasizes the responsibility for student discipline throughout the school. During the year of our observations, Mr. Chevalier could be seen moving all about the school and the hallways, constantly checking on scheduling and especially on the physical spaces in the school which he knows to be favorite student hang-outs. The role of the AP in Sheffield will be examined in much greater detail in Unit II which is devoted exclusively to roles. The point that is interesting from the standpoint of the dialectic between bureaucratic and organic forms of organization is that, although the functions that Mr. Chevalier performs are all clearly specified in his formal job description, he himself has made the choice (although in response to a particular school environment and in collaboration with the principal) to emphasize one of those functions and to de-emphasize another. This interpretation of his responsibilities constitutes de facto policy-making in this school.

The lines connecting different positions on the formal organization chart represent lines of authority, the dimensions of hierarchy. They also represent information channels. One of the ways in which Dr. Gebhardt went about establishing relations with his staff when he came into Sheffield involved by-passing those formally established information channels. He told one of our fieldworkers, "I spend a lot of time in the Teachers' Lounge and this seems to upset the teachers. The Teachers' Lounge seems to have been 'sacred ground' in the past." He added that that tradition did not deter him from spending time there. He said, "I can learn more in the Teachers' Lounge in an hour than I can in a month sitting in my office." He also mentioned that this informal information sharing works two ways, in that the teachers, once they stopped grumbling about his invasion of their space, would ask him direct questions (one example: "Who negotiates for administrators' policies?") that they would never ask him through regular channels. We see in this and others of Dr. Gebhardt's policies a conscious attempt to recognize and utilize the organic form of organization in Sheffield.

We can compare his visits to the Teachers' Lounge to a similar, though more ill-fated attempt by the Green Valley principal, Mr. Wyatt. Wyatt also spent time in the teachers' lunchroom during a period when a teachers' strike threatened. His attempt was much more resented. We didn't observe either situation firsthand, but our informants' reports suggest two reasons for the differential success of this same tactic in the two schools. Mr. Wyatt, who was already having problems with his outsider status, began hanging out in teacher space during a crisis period. He also reportedly de-emphasized his status and tried to act "like one of the boys." As we have seen in the discussion of the two lunchroom leaders, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Norton, acceptance as "one of the boys" in this space requires the passage of some ritualized hazing rites, to which a principal could not be easily subject. When Dr. Gebhardt entered the Sheffield Teachers' Lounge, in contrast, he did not do so during a time of crisis and only for the duration of the crisis (as did the Green Valley principal) and he did not abandon entirely the separation entailed by the teacher/administrator status differential. Thus, although Dr. Gebhardt seems to have had a conscious policy of working through the informal, organic side of the school organization, (which policy might have been formulated during his studies for his Ed.D. We don't know this, but he certainly must have encountered some of the many studies of the importance of informal organization during his course work.), the success of his tactic seems to have hinged on his continuing to maintain a certain amount of role separation. The loosening up of the formal structure in one area (communication channels) depended on the maintenance of structure in another (continuing to act "like a principal" even while tapping informal channels).

The ability and policy of Sheffield High School and its principal to let the formal organization of the school respond to and be modified by emergent organizational needs, which are so often responded to personally and informally while the formal structure remains rigid and irrelevant, can be seen in the series of situations and events connected with the curricular innovations called "individualized instruction" which were being experimented with in the school during the year of our study.

The description of this process of formalizing emergent structures requires some account of the history of innovation in this school and a brief comparison of the parameters of innovation in this and the other two schools. Dr. Gebhardt once told one of our observers that he had been chosen as principal by the board in order to implement change, although he also indicated that he did not think the board knew what kind of change he had in mind. This amorphous desire for change on the part of the Sheffield board stands on sharp contrast to the situations in Green Valley and Sheridan. We have already seen in Green Valley how the principal's notions for innovation were rejected by the community and how a teacher's attempt to change traditional classroom organization was rejected by both teachers and principal. We will later see in the Sheridan materials how the principal's policies, although designed to bring about change, were directed towards restoring an established way of doing things.

Dr. Gebhardt's innovative policies involved moving the school in the modish direction of "individualized instruction" classrooms. He found in the school several teachers who were not only interested in implementing such policies, but had special training from educational institutions for doing so. Thus, the implementation of the principal's policies involved cooperating with these teachers and allowing them the freedom and resources to innovate rather than initiating the innovations by himself. As a result of this whole process, informal specializations in individualized instruction developed in the school, and one of these informal specializations eventually became formally recognized. There were also certain political consequences of this process which will be discussed in subsequent units. Our interest here is in the process by which informal roles and forms of organization become formally incorporated.

By the end of the year of our study, a new formal position, that of Curriculum Coordinator, had been established in Sheffield High School to coordinate the efforts at curriculum development that had been going on for a few years already. The first incumbent of that position was Mr. Forsythe, the chairman of the Sheffield English department. Before becoming the first occupant of the new formal position, Mr. Forsythe had been one of the informal advocates in the school for the curricular innovations. As chairman of the English department, he had overseen the development of an entirely new departmental curriculum, a series of nine-week "mini-courses" replacing the previous term length courses and allowing the creation of many more electives and special topic courses. We also observed Mr. Forsythe serving as a quasi-formal curriculum adviser before his formal appointment. He was invited to a meeting of the Social Studies department which had been the department least active with regard to instituting individualized instruction types of innovation. The principal called the meeting and invited a consultant from Teacher's College (provided by our study) and Mr. Forsythe.

We observed the meeting and saw Mr. Forsythe encouraging the reluctant, somewhat threatened Social Studies teachers, talking to them as a colleague and fellow teacher and telling them how happy they were with the changes in the English department and how the Board had given them special funds to assist the curriculum development. By the end of that year, Mr. Forsythe was the newly appointed Curriculum Coordinator, not only for the high school but for the district as well.

In another conversation with one of our fieldworkers, Dr. Gebhardt also mentioned that it was understood between him and Mr. Forsythe that the position of Curriculum Coordinator would probably last only a few years, until its purpose was fulfilled. Whether this will actually happen will be interesting to see, for the pheromenon of organizational goal displacement, whereby the purpose of an organization becomes self-maintenance rather than accomplishment of its purported goal, is well known and widely regarded as a characteristic of modern organizations. The fact that both Gebhardt and Forsythe conceive the possibility of the position's passing away, however, is another instance of this school's ability to at least recognize the possibility of modifying its formal structure in response to emergent needs.

The last situation to be considered in this section of formal and informal specialization in Sheffield concerns the opposite end of the hierarchical spectrum and the roles of janitors in this school. Our fieldworkers in Sheffield found the janitors to be particularly valuable informants about the school and gained a great deal of valuable information from them during the year. The two janitors also were observed to perform complementary informal roles with respect to discipline games between adult rule enforcers and student rule-breakers. The head custodian and elder of the two, called Harvey by everyone, clearly considered it his duty to report rule violations to Mr. Chevalier, the AP and chief disciplinarian. He told our researcher that he considers such reporting "his business." It is not however mentioned in his formal job description. One day we saw Harvey first reprove a student for knocking chairs on the floor of the cafeteria, and, then, while escorting the student out of the cafeteria, reprove the teacher on duty for not taking care of the situation in the first place.

The younger custodian, Dave, was an ally of the other side. We saw him on several occasions knock on the door of the girls' bathroom to warn them of an approaching smoking raid by a teacher or the AP. In return, the girls became Dave's allies by becoming friends with him and by carefully cleaning up the refuse generated by their illicit bathroom cigarette smoking.

The position of janitors in schools is often accompanied by special informal roles which result from both the janitor's mobility within the school and his separation from the duties of other adults. Janitors also often stay in schools longer than any of the other status incumbents and thus become local authorities on the history of the school. The head custodian, Harvey, resigned during the year of our study and was given a special citation by the Board for "25 years of faithful service." Harvey's self-image and behavior as an authority figure in the school can be attributed to the sense of place acquired after long tenure. Dave's self-created role as ally of illicitly behaving students, on the other hand, combined with other difficulties, contributed to his being dismissed from the school.

Rules in Sheffield: On Paper and in Practice

Our fieldworkers in Sheffield recorded a rich variety of incidents concerning the enforcement and non-enforcement of rules designed to regulate the behavior of students. The information includes the reports and opinions of every segment of the school population, including teachers, students, administrators, and, as we just saw, even the janitors. Certain patterns of rule enforcement emerged from this data, and these patterns shed light on both the bureaucratic and organic forms of organization in Sheffield. The first point of view to be represented is that of the macro-perspective of the whole school organization. The examples in this section concern the views of various people in the school on the question of what degree of enforcement of the rules is (a) feasible and (b) desireable. Almost all of the rule infractions with which people in Sheffield are concerned are those involving the question of student territoriality. As in the other two schools, students in Sheffield are prohibited from smoking cigarettes in school, but many of them do so regularly. The search for a place to smoke or the appropriation of an unsupervised space to hang out in occupy much of the energy of Sheffield's rule-breakers. The supervision of these spaces occupies much of the time of Mr. Chevalier, the AP and chief disciplinarian.

Early in her fieldwork, our principal observer in Sheffield recorded this observation/speculation in her notes: 'There is a constant give and take on discipline between adults and students. Actually, there seem to be cycles of discipline. For example, all of a sudden there will be a great flurry of events concerning students smoking in the bathroom, or concerning where students are permitted to sit and talk with each other. There also seem to be sub-cycles of discipline, for example in classrooms, study halls, the media room, and the library. Noise and hacking around go through phases of increasing and decreasing in these places. For example, when the noise level in a class gets above a certain point, the teacher tells the students to quiet down. A few minutes later, the noise level rises again and again the teacher quiets the students. Neither the teacher nor the students seem to expect that the whole class period should be quiet and orderly or that the students can do whatever they want."

In a later conversation with Mr. Chevalier, who should know because he is the person who sets and carries out these policies, he confirmed her hypothesis. She reports their conversation, "He noted that the level of disciplinary action seems to go up and down. He said that sometimes they do a lot of punishing and then sometimes they don't punish people at all. He noted then they could easily stop all smoking in the school, but that the punitive measures taken to do this would possibly have other consequences and repercussions which would be dysfunctional."

We see from his statement that Mr. Chevalier is engaged in making the kind of decisions that administrators must constantly make. How much energy should be devoted to rule enforcement, and what level of enforcement is most beneficial to the organization as a whole? His statement that complete enforcement is possible, however, seems more ideological than convincing. Complete enforcement of rules by one group over another usually requires one-to-one supervision, that is, an enormous allocation of resources, and even then rules are usually broken with some degree of regularity.

Teachers, however, do not always accept this contingency of organizational life so lightly. In Sheffield, as in most schools, teachers are in the position of having to supervise students constantly without having the ability to decide when and what punishment should be meted out to rule-breakers. One woman recounted to our fieldworker an incident from the previous year which apparently still irritated her. She had reported a student to Mr. Chevalier for cursing at her outside the door of her classroom, and the AP had made the decision to let the student off with an apology, to him, not to her. She told us, "The administration does not back teachers up. If the rules are not enforced, then they're laughable and the ones who try to enforce them are the ones who get laughed at."

Failure to enforce all the rules all the time cannot all be heaped on the shoulders of the administration, however, as we saw in the unsuccessful attempts of the school to maintain a "hot list." The students whose names were on this list were branded as rule-breakers and penalized by not being allowed in the commons. At a faculty meeting in which the ineffectiveness of the list was discussed, Mr. Chevalier said to the teachers that the reason it did not work was that, "the teachers don't read the hot list and they have to do an awful lot of paper work in order to try to keep track of students who should not be in the commons."

In another meeting, this of students, students discussed the ease with which they break rules. A teacher talking with them explained the teachers' situation. He said, "Now you see the teachers' situation. Teachers have to keep their eyes on so many students and sign them in and out that their task becomes very confusing."

Thus, according to this teacher and to the AP, teachers also make individual decisions as to how much of their energy to devote to rule enforcement.

The difficulties with the hot list attest to the impossibility of complete rule enforcement, especially when, even in a relatively small school such as this, that enforcement requires paperwork and the coordination of efforts of several people. As we shall see in the comparison of Sheffield and the urban school, however, the factor of size can have a crucial effect on the feasibility of close supervision of students. When asked how he deals with the problem of knowing whether a student was really absent or just cutting his class, one teacher responded, "This school is small. It's too hard to hide. Here you have an afternoon class with a teacher, you walk by him in the morning, you think he's not going to remember it?" Here we see that, whereas a bureaucratic measure to keep up with student rule-breakers runs afoul of being overly technical and too difficult to keep up with, the organic system of personal relationships works much more simply and efficiently. We shall see later how the large size of the urban school makes organic rule enforcement impossible, especially with regard to cutting, and bureaucratic measures, which are the only recourse, run into just as much or more trouble than they do in the smaller school.

The incidents just presented all demonstrate that complete rule enforcement is impossible and that those whose responsibility it is to enforce rules must continually make decisions as to how much of their own and the organization's resources should be devoted to rule enforcement. This situation does not disprove Weber's theory of bureaucracy, with its emphasis on uniform rules, inasmuch as Weber's theory is an ideal-type. None of these people seem to challenge the ideal that rules should be enforced impartially, uniformly, and fairly. They simply realize that such a policy is impractical. The next question for the organizational analyst is: if we concur that rules can never be absolute, can we identify any patterns of behavior which will explain deviations from the rules? We identified several patterns of differential rule enforcement in Sheffield. Some of these patterns had to do with organic influences, such as sorting patterns and informal rules which undercut formal ones (such informal rules amount to tacit agreements among people that certain formal rules will be disregarded). Others of these patterns had to do with bureaucratic influences such as conflicts between the rules themselves.

One clear pattern that we observed was that students who have personal relationships with adult rule-enforcers can often escape rules by virtue of that relationship. In these cases, the organic factor of the personal relations between two people whom the bureaucratic structure labels rule-breaker and rule-enforcer overrides the bureaucratic structure entirely. We recorded one example in an interview with a male student, Frank Martin. Frank works during his free period in the school's front office.

> Interviewer: Do you remember what you told me yesterday, you said that you get away with a lot because of your job, do you remember that?
> Frank: Yeah.

I: What did you mean by that?
F: Well, since I am good friends with everybody, like the secretary of the school and the principal, I can get away with everything.
I: So what are some of the things you've done?
F: I can walk around the halls. With other kids, if the principal catches them, he'll send them right to class but he won't do that to me. That's the main thing.

Another student told another of our fieldworkers that he can avoid some rules because he is friends with the basketball coach, Mr. Rossi. "Ty Singleton told me that he gets away with a lot of things that other people can't because of who he is. He said that this is because he's on the basketball team and because he's been active in the school and on the football team. He also referred to his relationship with Joe Rossi."

Notice that these two students are both claiming not so much a carte blanche to behave as they please, but simply that they have friendships with particular adult rule-enforcers which keep those particular adults from invoking rules against them. In addition, the second student, Ty Singleton, seems to be claiming something more, that he has a generalized status in the school which enables him to ignore rules. This is an instance of a second pattern of differential rule enforcement, which is related to the way in which adults sort students (a distinction must always be made between the ways people define themselves as groups and the ways that others categorize them). In this pattern, the student's status affects the way many rule-enforcers, rather than just one with whom he/she has a personal relationship, invoke rules on his/her behavior.

One person who seemed to have such a status was a female student, Rena Ball, whose father is a state senator. During the same meeting of students mentioned earlier, in which the teacher tells the students of the difficulties teachers have keeping up with them, Rena had talked with candor about how she constantly ignores rules. She said that she can walk in and out of the library without a pass any time that she wants. Rena didn't connect this fact with that of her father's status in the community, but other students talking about her later, who did not have such an easy time themselves with the rules, did make that connection. We noticed that there is a clique of students in Sheffield whose fathers are important in the community. These students not only broke many rules with impunity, they held informal possession of a room in the school, the media room, which gave them a space in which to congregate which was much safer than other student territories, such as the bathrooms. These students were also recognized as good students, so that their preferential treatment could be attributed to either one or both of these factors. We saw many other examples of students classified as "good students" by adults who were able to avoid rules, especially those regulating where they should and shouldn't be during the school day. In one case, the AP, Mr. Chevalier, told one of our researchers that he had just seen two students leaving the campus too early. He said that he had gone after them, brought them back, and later learned that they had left again immediately. He said that he had done nothing further to them, as they were "mature and serious students, and keeping them in detention would be ridiculous."

If some students were allowed leeway with the rules, as a result of having the general status of "good student" conferred on them by adults, however, the reverse was also the case, as the following conversation between our fieldworker and Mr. Chevalier attests:

> We began to talk about the fact that all different kinds of girl students smoke in the bathroom. There are the homecoming candidate type girls and then there are the tougher girls and all kinds of in between. Mr. Chevalier noted that the kids who do get caught always seem to be those who are on the bottom of the academic ladder and are the troublemakers. He said that perhaps these kids get caught because they're not as smart as the other students, or, perhaps these kids want to get caught. I have noticed this myself. Mr. Chevalier noted that Marcia Hartsman smokes in the bathroom and that she's smart and that she's a good person. He also noted that Marcia's mother is on the board of education. Marcia, however, does not get caught smoking in the bathroom. He then compared her to someone like Bea Antonopoulos or Jane Olivieri who do get caught smoking in the bathroom.

Mr. Chevalier's psycho-social speculations about certain students "wanting" to get caught, although they may well be perfectly true from the standpoint of that kind of analysis, are remarkably ironic. He is the one who punishes or exonerates them! One wonders how he defines and classifies studen as "troublemakers." Obviously, the simple criterion of breaking the rules is not the crucial factor in this labelling process, if all kinds of girls smoke in the bathrooms but only some of them get caught. It seems that the criterion "who are on the bottom of the academic ladder" is the more operant criterion here for sorting out "troublemakers."

The relation of this sorting phenomenon and its consequences to the bureaucratic principle of merit is an interesting one. As was pointed out in the introduction, students are, strictly speaking, the clients of the formal organization of the school and not members of the formal organization of the school, even though their rights and duties within the school are formally prescribed in other places than the school's formal organization chart, such as in state law. Weber was discussing the principle of employment on the basis of merit, and students are not employed by schools on the basis of a business contract. They are required by law to attend school within certain age limits.

From this perspective, the status of "student" in our society is what anthropologists might call an ascribed status, while the status of "teacher" or "administrator" might be called an achieved status. The former status devolves upon the incumbent automatically, at a certain age, merely by virtue of the incumbent's having been born into this society. The latter status is chosen and voluntarily agreed to in the signing of the contract.

As was noted in the introduction, however, students are in practice treated (and so respond) not so much like the clients of the organization as like the lowest rung of the hierarchy. This practice is also formally sanctioned in various laws conferring in loco parentis authority on schools with regard to minors. Thus, the relation of the student to the formal hierarchy of a school bureaucracy is a rather ambiguous one. A similar ambiguity exists with regard to the relation of the student to the bureaucratic principle of merit. Students are in fact formally sorted, ranked, and assigned tasks in the organization on the basis of various criteria of merit such as grades and test scores. These procedures, however, are not justified by the organization on the basis that they contribute to the efficiency of the organization (although they may in fact do so), but rather they are justified on the basis that they provide better service to the organization's clients, the students. The difference between firing a teacher and flunking a student illustrates this difference. Both procedures are ways of removing from the organization people who do not meet the organization's performance standards, that is, who do not demonstrate sufficient merit to be part of the organization. A teacher is fired (technically) for not meeting the terms of his/her contract. A student is flunked in his/her own interest, because material was not learned or perhaps because he/she should be placed in a different organization or program which would better fulfill his/her needs.

This elaborate, abstract discussion of the ambiguity of the student's relation to the formal hierarchy of a school organization is intended to show that, although the bureaucratic principle of merit is applied to students, the justification and meaning of that application is formally and qualitatively different than is the application of the merit principle to a school's employees. In the case of Mr. Chevalier's labelling of students and assignment of differential treatment and rule-enforcement to them on the basis of those labels, we may note that the giving of privileges outside of class on the basis of performance inside class is a practice much more organic than bureaucratic. Perhaps the ease with which this practice is accepted in the school (note Mr. Chevalier's blithe unconcern as he discusses his enforcement policies, both his preferential treatment of "good students" and his discrimination against "troublemakers") can be attributed to this ambiguity in the student's relation to the formal bureaucracy. In Weber's model, merit is closely tied to specific expertise, and those two characteristics are in turn related to the principle of hierarchy. Blau writes, in a comment of Weber's concept of bureaucratic hierarchy," . . . authority is strictly circumscribed and confined to those directives that are relevant for official operations. The use of status prerogatives to extend the power of control over subordinates beyond those limits does not constitute the legitimate exercise of bureaucratic authority" (Bureaucracy in Modern Society, p. 19). If the relations of students to the school's authority structure were strictly bureaucratic, then performance in class should have no effect on when rules are or are not enforced outside of class. The in loco parentis nature of the student's legal position in the school, with its organic suggestion that these relations are more like kinship than like bureaucratic relations, to some extent justifies the exercise of authority over students in a much more general and less circumscribed way than is possible with regard to employees such as teachers, whose rights and duties are usually much more carefully specified in a contract that they sign of their own volition. In fact, if a student's right to smoke in school were legally challenged, the counsel for the school would probably base his defense on the various in loco parentis laws, as well as other laws limiting the rights of minors, such as the state law cited in Green Valley which prohibits the purchase of cigarettes by minors. Teachers, on the other hand, are protected by law and contract from being regulated in this personal matter, which is not "relevant to official operations" at least with regard to their free periods within the school.

This is not to say that general status prerogatives do not obtain for teachers. Mr. Burton in Green Valley is a clear example that they do. Mr. Burton had no formal authority to scotch the principal's planned scheduling innovations, but his general status prerogative allows him to do so. Mr. Burton's case, however, is one in which informal and organic relations undercut and contradict the formally specified channels of information and lines of authority. Mr. Chevalier's general status prerogative with regard to student discipline, on the other hand, is built into the formal system itself and is to some extent justified by law.

Interestingly, although students do not seem to have the same legal rights to uniform rule enforcement that employees of the bureaucracy do, it is commonly observed that high school students are often extremely rule-conscious and even legalistic in their expectations. This should be no surprise considering their daily round of encounters with rules and rule-enforcers. One of the students labelled as a "troublemaker" by Mr. Chevalier is an example. Our fieldworker reports yet another conversation with the Sheffield AP, "He said that it's very interesting among students that when they get caught smoking they try to get out of punishment on technicalities. As an example, he told me a story, which I had already heard, about Jane Olivieri. It seems that Jane was apprehended with an unlit cigarette in her mouth and a lit match in her hand, but, since she was not actually smoking when the teacher came in, she didn't think that she would be suspended."

The foregoing examples all illustrate patterns of differential rule enforcement which can be related to the ways in which adults sort students into categories. (Theoretical note: in this unit, we have defined groups as purposive entities, whose members do something together, and we have called the process by which people separate themselves into groups sorting behavior. We have also noted that the process by which people separate other people into groups can also be called sorting, but that the process of sorting others is different from sorting yourself. One of those differences is that sorting others may or may not classify them into groups which do things together. A teacher may sort out several students whom he considers friends and to whom he gives special dispensations in rule enforcements, but those students may or may not associate together. If they do not associate, they are a category. If they do, they are a group.) One way in which adults sort students with regard to differential rule enforcement in Sheffield is into personal friends and others. Another set of such categories is "good students" and "troublemakers." The former set of categories is more organic in that it refers specifically to personal relations. The latter set is more bureaucratic, in that it refers to sorting on the basis of merit, even though, as we have seen, the relevance of merit to student ranking is quite different from its relevance to such phenomena as promotion of employees. There is another kind of sorting behavior which affects rule enforcement and non-enforcement in Sheffield which is wholly attributable to the formal organization. In some cases, the entire formal category of "students" is given dispensation from one of the rules. This situation corresponds to the administrative decision that the enforcement of this rule is either not feasible or not desireable. Whereas some rules are enforced often, some are enforced for some individuals and not for others, some rules are not enforced at all. Our fieldworker reports:

> During the third period, I went to the band door area to see if there was anything going on there. There were three girls sitting on the floor, one of whom was playing a 12-string

> guitar. They explained that they are allowed to sit there by Mr. Fanelli. The three [illegible] have a study period during this third period. They also told me that Mr. Kansky and Mrs. Wagman allow them to sit there.

We noted many such student territories in Sheffield as well as in the other two schools. Some of these territories, like student cafeterias and commons, were officially set aside for students, but in all these cases, adult supervision was always present. In order to escape adult supervision, students in all three schools sought out other spaces which they occupied illicitly. Of these illicitly occupied spaces, however, some were embattled, like the bathrooms, while others, like the area in front of the band room, were tacitly ceded to the students by the adult rule-enforcers. While formal rules prohibited loitering by students in these latter spaces, informal rules existed giving them this space. These informal rules and tacit ignorings of formal rules amount to an admission by the rule-enforcers that the formal rules do not fully take into account and provide for the contingencies of organizational life. The tensions inherent in such a complexly structured system of activities such as constitute school life require the organization to leave breathing spaces, areas of decision-making which are negotiated by people rather than by formal rules. The formal rules are always there, however, a latent force that can be invoked and activated at any time. In the case of the cycles and sub-cycles of discipline, we see that some necessity seems to exist for the organization or an individual rule-enforcer within the organization to invoke rules periodically as a symbolic reaffirmation of the formal hierarchy. That way, it does not matter so much if all the rules are enforced all the time. The right and

and ability of the institution to maintain rules is maintained and can be exercised when such an exercise is necessary for the organization and will have results that are more functional than dysfunctional.

Two final incidents involving rules will illustrate the phenomenon of conflicts within the rules themselves that lead to ignoring or evading of rules. The advantage of rules,when they work as intended, is that they promote efficiency and fairness by standardizing procedures and decisions that are uniform and come up over and over again. In this way, rules lend themselves to rational organization and facilitate planned change, because formal rules can be thought out in advance or revised in retrospect in a way that organically evolving forms of organization cannot be. [illegible]ganizations, however, are rarely planned out entirely in advance, then constructed and operated entirely according to the pre-implementation vision. The formal structure of an organization can also change in response to the empirical organization's climate, as we saw in the case of the formalization of the emergent role of curriculum coordinator in Sheffield. Thus, even formal organizations can be said, in a sense, to grow in an organic way, with structural features such as formal positions or rules budding out here and being lopped off there. This organic response of formal structures to an actual environment sometimes leads to an undercutting of the rational basis of the formal organization, and we find such phenomena as the following incident, in which one of two rules, each originally formulated as a planned response to some recurring situation within the organization, cancels the effect of the other.

> Today some students told me about a way they have of skipping class and getting away with it. They said that they get an excuse to show that they weren't cutting class when they really were. They said, "The easiest way to do it is to go to the guidance office, see the counselor for a few minutes, and get a note saying you were there. The note doesn't say anything about how long you were there or anything." They said that there was also a strategy for getting a pass from the nurse.

Between the rule requiring class attendance and the rule allowing students to consult with guidance counselors, there is a small loophole which can be used every now and then by students who wish to do so.

Another student we talked to offered an intriguing explanation for why some teachers do not enforce rules. Referring to the fact that poker playing in the cafeteria is prohibited but often goes on right under teachers' noses, this boy told us, "teachers pretend they don't know what's going on. They don't want trouble." The implication here is that there is an inherent conflict in the rules prescribing teacher behavior. Teachers are supposed to be rule-enforcers, but the evaluation of their own performance, another characteristic of bureaucracy, often hinges on their image as effective rule enforcers. At the same time, teachers do not punish students directly but must report them to the AP whose responsibility the punishment is. The inconsistency of all these rules is seen in the fact that a teacher who is constantly turning students in often achieves for his/her trouble the image of a weak authority figure. Thus, a pressure is generated from these conflicting rules which influences the teacher to overlook infractions in order not to adversely influence their upcoming evaluations. We found parallels of this exact phenomenon in both of the other schools we studied.

Allocation of Space Within the School: Personal and Impersonal Dimensions

In the introduction, we suggested that Weber's claim that the ideal-type bureaucracy is the most efficient kind of organization seems most justified when the kinds of tasks the organization must perform are uniform in nature and are thus susceptible to repetitive accomplishment according to a set of pre-arranged rules. Human relations writers and others have suggested that non-uniform tasks are more efficiently performed by organic units, in which people with well established personal and working relationships cooperate in finding new solutions for unique problems. Schools have to perform both kinds of tasks, and many tasks have both a uniform and a non-uniform aspect. For example, the motivation of students in the classroom can be seen as depending heavily on the personal interactions of the teachers and students, although attempts are often made to standardize classroom relations through such means as lesson plans and uniform curricula. Standardized "motivations" are even suggested in teachers' manuals.

At the other end of the task spectrum in schools are procedures such as the scheduling of students and teachers into different rooms during different periods. Even in a relatively small school such as Sheffield, the large number of decisions which must be made in the scheduling process necessitates some sort of uniform, rationally organized system. In all three schools, in fact, we found that the most complexly bureaucratic activities go on in the scheduling offices. As we developed our interest in the question of territoriality within schools, we were also quick to

> listed next to the course being offered. The math department felt that it would be all right to list their names next to the courses when students make their selections, but the English department had some objections, so no names were listed.

Not listing the names is clearly a bureaucratic procedure, corresponding to Weber's criterion of impersonality. If students cannot see who will teach a course, then they must choose their programs by content and not by instructor. Printing the teachers' names allows students to choose their course on a personal basis, and, apparently, the English teachers were afraid that scheduling could thereby become a sort of popularity contest. Thus, they held out for the impersonal procedure.

Despite these pressures for impersonal scheduling, we observed several instances in which personal considerations did influence the process. Our observers once discussed with Mr. Chevalier the fact that some teachers have fixed classrooms and some don't:

> Mr. Chevalier said that this is a sticky situation and that there are different criteria for each teacher and each room. He said that science teachers have their own rooms because of special equipment, but that the math teachers move around because math can be taught anywhere. The yearbook adviser got a fixed room so that he could keep all the materials in one place. He said that Warren Carse was given a room because "he is an excitable person and we thought it would be best not to make his life more confusing."

The difference between the science and math teachers with respect to fixed classrooms is clearly a bureaucratic consideration, related to the specialized nature of their tasks. The treatment of Mr. Carse, however, is clearly an organic consideration that grows out of his personal relationships in the school. In another instance, one of our observers was talking with an English teacher when Mr. Chevalier dropped by to ask the teacher when he preferred to have a certain class. This act by the AP appears to have been merely an incidental courtesy towards the teacher. When we look at the mammoth programming and scheduling procedures in the urban school, we will see how the sheer size of the operation makes impossible these personal considerations, except when they are related to important power struggles.

There was also one scheduling situation in Sheffield that seemed to reflect a power struggle. Miss Duncan, a social studies teacher with long tenure in the school, told us that the Social Studies department had the worst rooms in the school and that this situation could be related to the general difficulties in the department which made it the most looked down on department in Sheffield.

Performance Standards for Teachers: Evaluations in Sheffield

The Weberian bureaucratic criterion of employment based on merit is operationalized in schools in several ways. Before being hired, teachers and administrators must present specific evidence of their qualifications, in the form of degrees and licenses. After being hired, they must continue to prove their merit. The formally operationalized manner of assessing merit usually takes the form of some sort of evaluation procedure. For teachers, these evaluations are usually performed by the principal or another administrator. We found conspicuous differences in the relative importance of formal evaluations between the urban school and Sheffield. In the urban school, as we will see in detail, there existed a situation of great controversy over the principal's formal evaluation procedures. In Sheffield, formal evaluation procedures existed, but seem to have been relatively unimportant in the daily life of the school. The real social controls over teachers seem to have taken place outside the sphere of formal evaluations.

The administrator in charge of teacher evaluations was, once again, Mr. Chevalier, the AP. He once told our researcher about a conference for Assistant-Principals that he had recently attended. He said that he had discovered that in some schools, the AP spends up to half of his working day observing and evaluating teachers. He then expressed his opinion of this practice. He said, "You can't make teachers produce more by watching closely over them." He then went on to add that such practices were unnecessary in Sheffield anyway, "because the teachers seem to be doing quite well."

Another of our researchers once got into a discussion with a teacher who had been in the school for some years and asked him some questions about social controls of teachers in Sheffield. In answer to the direct question, "Who disciplines teachers?" this teacher replied, "No one does. The only form of discipline is the evaluations. Teachers here are never told that they are doing anything wrong until they see it in the evaluations." When asked more about evaluation procedures, he told us that everyone is evaluated, but that the evaluations only counted for the new teachers.

There were two examples of teachers whose work was causing dissatisfaction, however, and these cases gave us a chance to see how this school system responds to such problems. In one case, the principal told us that he had received complaints about a teacher from the Superintendent, who had asked the principal to observe the teacher. The principal said that he found this an unpleasant task, but that he had to do it. The teacher in question, however, held tenure and could not be dismissed. The eventual tactic of the administration was to assign the teacher five study halls. Thus, even though a formal observation was conducted while dealing with this teacher, the evaluation was the least important element in the system's response to his alleged incompetence. Complaints about the teacher from parents reached the principal through the Superintendent, resulting in informal manipulation of scheduling procedures in order to pressure the teacher to leave.

One other teacher who was forced out of Sheffield during the year of our observations was a young math teacher. We do not know the exact circumstances of his leaving. For example, we do not know what was contained in his formal evaluation, although it was presumably a factor. As the established teacher noted above, the evaluations only seem to count for the new teachers. In the case of the math teacher, there was a widespread consensus among other teachers that the reason he had not been offered a new contract had more to do with his attitudes than with his teaching _per se_. This teacher had violated the school's norms for teacher behavior by acting "too friendly" with students, failing, in the eyes of other teachers and of the administration, to maintain sufficient social distance between himself and students. This was regarded by other adults in the school as threatening the system of authority relations. Interestingly, we found similar explicit statements that "teachers shouldn't get too close to kids" in all three schools we studied.

In both these cases, we see that, although formal evaluations are both required and carried out in Sheffield, the actual processes of social control of teachers and assessment of their merit seem to depend much more on the climate of opinion among adults in the school and in the surrounding community. In other words, even though the criterion of merit is formally operationalized in various ways in Sheffield, the actual invocation of sanctions depends on organic networks in the school and the community.

Formation of Organic Units among Sheffield Students: Jocks and Freaks

We saw in Green Valley that students grouped themselves according to two broad sets of criteria. Bureaucratic sorting criteria contributed to the formation of groups such as "good students" and "vocational students." We have already seen in Sheffield that adults here also sort out categories such as "good students" and "troublemakers." The major sorting categories among Sheffield students themselves, however, stand out in sharp contrast both to the primarily residentially determined organic sorting patterns in Green Vally and to the bureaucratically defined categories such as "good students" found in both schools. This is not to say that students considered "good students" do not often associate in Sheffield, thus satisfying our definition of a group as a collection of people who do something together. Such sorting patterns do occur in Sheffield, but they are secondary in importance to the pattern of sorting into groups that Sheffield students themselves have labelled as "jocks" and "freaks."

When we began our research in Sheffield, our observers asked students direct questions about their patterns of association and found a general consensus that the two major groups among Sheffield students were those so labelled. It was exciting for us to find such native categories so clearly defined and accepted in the general population of the school, but it was several months before we were able to gain an understanding of what these labels really meant as correlated with actual behavior and patterns of association among students. The job of converting native categories into analytic categories was especially troublesome in this case.

In order to outline the problem, perhaps it is useful to elaborate for a moment on this distinction between native and analytic categories. The distinction must always be made because of the well known fact that what people say they do, or even what they sincerely believe that they do, may or may not accord with their behavior. The discovery of native categories is always valuable for an observer/analyst, but that discovery is merely a start. There is no reason to assume, on the one hand, that a member of the social system one is studying cannot be just as astute an observer/analyst as someone from outside the system. On the other hand, people's perceptions and understandings of the social reality of their lives can easily be colored by the day-to-day necessity of justifying themselves and their actions to those around them.

In the case of the native perceptions of students sorting as "jocks" and "freaks," we concluded after much observation and pondering that these categories did in fact contribute to group formation, but that there were important differences between these groups and the kinds of student groups we found in either of the other two schools. In general, this difference may be described by saying that there is no structural base for sorting into "jocks" and "freaks." The differences between these two kinds of students are more ideological and are easily blurred, in a way that the residentially based sorting patterns is Green Vally High School and the ethnically based sorting patterns in Sheridan High School are not. For example, a student in Sheffield can easily change from one group to the other simply by altering the visible indicators of "jockishness" or "freakishness," such as clothing and grooming, and by altering some of his opinions and vocabulary. The Green Valley student wishing to identify with a group that lives in a different town has many more barriers to overcome. The Sheridan student wishing to identify with a group of different ethnicity would have a very difficult time indeed. (This is not to say that there are not inter-ethnic groupings in the urban school. There are, but this is another issue which will be dealt with in detail later.)

Our observers in Sheffield distilled their perceptions of the real meanings of the labels "jock" and "freak" in the following passage. Many of the details in this summary indicate both the validity and the limits of these words in describing the social reality of student sorting patterns in Sheffield. As you will see, the labels do describe much sorting behavior, but they can also leave out as much as they include about the ways in which these students associate friendship groups.

When the study team came to Sheffield High School, we sought to determine how the students separate themselves into groups or cliques and what the criteria for success as members of these groups are. It was evident from the start that students could not be separated on the basis of appearance or income, at least not into gross categories such as racial background or rich and poor. The differences we found were more subtle, for the students at Sheffield at first appear very much alike. When the study team asked Sheffield students how students divide themselves into groups, or cliques, two groups were recognized by the students. The students called the first group the jocks; the second group, the long-haired students, is called the freaks.

Use of the labels jock and freak at Sheffield brings the conflict that has existed between the two groups at the school into sharp focus. There have been tensions at the school between the students with long hair and the students on the athletic teams. When a jock calls a freak a freak, he is making a statement about that student's personality that contains many hostile assumptions, and the same goes for a freak calling a jock a jock. A freak is not very comfortable being called a freak by a jock, but conversely, many freaks are glad to be recognized as freaks by the jocks and by the student body in general. If a freak did not want to be recognized as a freak, he would not adopt the dress, manners and loose freak lifestyle. At the same time, the jocks resent being called jocks, but they are proud of their achievements in athletics.

Describing a student in this way tells something about conflicts among the students, but tells nothing about the students as individuals. First of all, many people do not fit into either of these categories, and even those people who appear to exemplify the freak or jock standard at Sheffield will deny that they can be described so simply. In a long interview one of our observers conducted at the school in mid year, a captain of the football team repeatedly denied that he fit any school stereotype of the jock, asserting not only that he has many friends who are considered freaks, and shares interests such as music with them, but that he resents being classified as a jock. The boy told our interviewer in great detail about all the hostility that was associated with use of the word jock by the freaks. Here is one incident he related:

> There was one example there where I was sitting in the town, I guess luncheonette or sweet shop. None of my friends or I are in there that much because that's mainly for the freaks. You know, you walk in and those eyes and everything. . . . Those guys really have hangups. They don't realize that it really

> doesn't bother me what they are or I'm not against them just because they think I'm all for President Nixon. You know, things I've mentioned before. That's what they think I stand for, just because I put on a jock every day. It bothers me. I'm just going to stay away from it. I have a lot of friends who have the freak characteristics and those are the guys who are close to other freaks but not in the high school.

His protestations about use of the label were revealing because, as he discussed the issue, it became evident that despite his air of accomplishment and pride, he was deeply hurt by the labelling.

The account of the football captain reveals both the reality of sorting into these two categories and the reality that other patterns of association exist which cross-cut these two categories. Later in the interview, he told us that even some of the taken-for-granted characteristics of freaks, specifically the use of marijuana and pills, were by no means absolute. Some athletes smoked pot as much as some students considered "freaks." Conversely, some students considered freaks were excellent athletes and team members. There was little doubt in the minds of students about the identifying characteristics of jocks and freaks, and some students fit the stereotypes. Many others did not, and many students also associated across these lines.

BUREAUCRATIC AND ORGANIC FORMS OF ORGANIZATION IN SHERIDAN HIGH SCHOOL

We come now to the largest and most complex of the three field sites in our study, Sheridan High School. The enormity of the task of studying this school was such that we spent an extra year of our study at the school, focusing all our research efforts on it in an attempt to gain some kind of understanding of the urban school comparable to that we had gained in Green Valley and Sheffield. One of the reasons that we chose to structure this first unit around the concepts of bureaucratic and organic forms of organization was in order to establish a framework in which we could sensibly compare organizations as radically different as the two smaller schools and the larger one. Sheridan High School has a budget of forty million dollars, and two hundred and fifty teachers plus guidance counselors, grade advisors, special program personnel, kitchen and custodial staff, and a total separate security staff of twenty-eight. The bureaucratic procedures employed to coordinate the activities of all these people are understandably vastly more complex than those in the other two schools. The programming staff alone is larger than many of the academic departments in the two smaller schools.

Thus far in our presentation, we have used the concept of bureaucratic and organic forms of organization as a descriptive model for examining the processes of social life within each individual school organization. That procedure will be continued as we analyze life in Sheridan, but we will also begin now to lay the foundations for comparative analysis across all three sites. We feel that the size and resultant complexity of bureaucratic organization in Sheridan have a radical effect on the school's social organization that set it apart from the other two schools qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Many of the issues we have considered in Green Valley and Sheffield, such as the contrast between formal hierarchies and actual distributions of influence and specialization, bureaucratic and organic influences on sorting, territorial allocations, formation of organic units, the enforcement and manipulation of rules, and the application of standards of merit, will also be dealt with in these materials on Sheridan. We intend the reader to compare these issues across sites whenever possible, but we urge you always to keep in mind the radical difference in size between Sheridan and the rural and suburban schools and the complex differences in the forms of social organization which result. Sheridan is roughly ten times the size of each of the others.

Administrative Hierarchy and Specialization of Administrative Functions in Sheridan

We examined a situation in Green Valley in which there was some discrepancy between the formal authority vested in the principal and the actual patterns of power and influence in the school. We saw in Sheffield that formal authority and real power coincided in the person of the principalship's incumbent, but that the specialization of functions among administrators had as much to do with their personalities and personal relationships as with their formal job descriptions. The organization of the Sheridan administration is more comparable to the Sheffield case, although it is more complex due to the larger number of administrative personnel.

Irwin Sontag, the principal of Sheridan High School, was a controversial figure during the two years of our fieldwork. He had definite policies which he spent a great deal of energy implementing. The policies themselves, however, were strongly resisted by many in the school, including teachers and students, and the atmosphere in the school was much more political than in the other two schools. Despite the political struggles within the school, Mr. Sontag definitely managed to convince his superiors in the New York City school system that his policies were being successful, chiefly regarding the restoration of order in the school. Even his opponents conceded that the school had become quieter since Mr. Sontag's arrival, although they argued variously that the cost in social harmony was too high or that the increased quiet was a citywide trend rather than the result of his policies. Mr. Sontag successfully took credit, whatever the case, and, in this sense, he may be said to have been the real as well as the titular head of the school. In his case as well as in Dr. Gebhardt's in Sheffield, formal authority and actual power coincided in the person of the principal.

The large size and administrative complexity of the school were such that Mr. Sontag had to work very hard to achieve control. One of his strategies for doing this was to maintain high visibility within the school, regularly walking the halls, enforcing rules, and dropping in on class sessions. Behind the scenes he also worked very hard to keep up with what was going on, employing the considerable political savvy he had acquired during his lifelong membership in the city school system. One of our observers recorded the following incident, in which Mr. Sontag clearly states his conception of hierarchy. The incident took place during a meeting of the Sheridan executive council, which consists of the principal, the three vice-principals for administration, and the department chairmen, who are vice-principals for supervision.

> Then Mr. Sontag said, "Point two on the agenda is that there are teacher trainers being sent in from the board and ultimately, if they have their way, hordes will be coming in from the co-op program." He then said that this situation was an abomination undermining the chairman's position. He said, "We can't have too many supervisors. There has to be one chain of command, chairman to principal. I've never had a conflict between chairman and principal, and it's because of that. Then Harvey Fishman, the speech department chairman, said, "In your case, there's no kickback, but in my case, if I tell my guy to go to hell, I'll lose positions." Mr. Sontag said, "So we'll lose positions."

We see in this incident that Mr. Sontag feels that his authority would be weakened by accepting the controls that come along with new programs and resources and is willing to sacrifice those new resources to prevent this happening. He also uses his authority to make this decision, disregarding the opinions of those below him in the hierarchy, and thus reaffirming his conception of hierarchy by this very act. The question of the effect of outside influences such as new programs on the social organization of Sheridan is quite a complex one. In later sections, we will be concerned with the effect of these influences on policies and decision-making at the administrative level and the effect of the new programs on student sorting patterns. The point to be emphasized here is that the size of Sheridan and its administrative position in a vast network of governmental agencies, city, state, and Federal, makes it very difficult for the school to be controlled by any one person. Mr. Sontag has developed a particular administrative model, which places the utmost emphasis on the bureaucratic characteristic of hierarchical organization, in order to deal with the vast sea of rules, allocations, curricula, and people which determine the shape of social organization in Sheridan High School.

Although Mr. Sontag was attentive to maintaining official lines of hierarchy, there was still no way in which he could personally supervise every activity in the school. His energies went into the several policies which he was trying to implement. These policies included maintaining control over students and teachers as strictly as possible, chiefly with regard to internal order in the building, achieving high attendance rates for both students and teachers, and enforcing a very strictly defined form of instructional techniques and classroom management. The consequences of these policies could be felt in all areas of life in the school, but much of the day-to-day supervision of school activities still had to be handled by other members of the administration and some teachers. These other people who performed formally and informally delegated supervisory functions had developed varying degrees of functional autonomy.

The concept of functional autonomy refers to a phenomenon of organizational life that arises as a direct result of the bureaucratic characteristic of specialization of functions and which often conflicts with the bureaucratic characteristic of hierarchical organization. When one person is a recognized expert for a particular sector of activity, another person who is technically above the first in the hierarchy may technically have authority to supervise the acknowledged expert. If the supervisor does not possess equal expertise, however, the extent to which he/she can direct the subordinate is limited by the superior's more limited understanding of the job to be performed.

Mr. Sontag's three Assistant Principals for administration exhibited some degree of functional autonomy, as did the school's program coordinator who was a subordinate to one of the AP's in the formal organization chart but whose actual influence in the school was far greater than her official status would indicate.

One of the AP's, Herbert Goldstone, was in charge of a separate building, the annex which housed the ninth grade. His functional autonomy was such that he performed duties in the annex which were performed in the main building by the principal and the other two AP's. We encountered his protectiveness over this domain when we tried to send fieldworkers to observe the annex. Having had and used for months Mr. Sontag's blanket permission for us to roam freely throughout the main building, we had to accustom ourselves to observing the annex only according to an agenda prepared by Mr. Goldstone. He completely controlled everything that we saw in the annex, and, consequently, we do not have great confidence in the picture presented by our notes on the annex.

Of the two AP's for administration in the main building, one, Edith Weissman, was the only person that Mr. Sontag brought with him when he began his administration in Sheridan. Her formal duties were as director of Pupil Personnel Services, in which capacity she supervised the guidance counselors, program advisors, and the activities of literally dozens of special programs, clubs, and committees for students. We observed the operations of her office on many occasions, and concluded that she had a great deal of functional autonomy as supervisor of these activities. The principal left her with the major portion of responsibility for them, except in certain instances where his policies were involved. Mrs. Weissman also played a tremendously important informal role in the school, which we will characterize in Unit II as that of ritual specialist. Briefly put, in this role Mrs. Weissman functioned as the chief acknowledged expert on the rules, regulations, and policies of the school and the system as well as the official justifications for all these and including the main lines of controversy and dissent. Even the principal, who was no mean ritual specialist himself, was seen to defer to Mrs. Weissman's expertise in these matters on some occasions.

The most striking case of functional autonomy in Sheridan was that of Penny Ottman, the program coordinator. Penny was actually paid on a teacher line during our observations, although she had at one time served as an acting AP. She had been a substitute teacher for many years until she had been asked by the previous principal to work as a programmer. She had done so well at this complicated job that she began as head of the programming office the same year that Mr. Sontag arrived. Technically, Mrs. Ottman was supervised by Milton Drucker, the AP for Administration. In the actual operation of the school, however, Mrs. Ottman ran the program office with great efficiency (the program office of Sheridan was the most efficient operation in the school) while Mr. Drucker supervised other administrative operations with questionable efficiency. These statements about the relative efficiency of operations of these two administrators are based both on our own observations and on our interviews with the principal, Mr. Sontag. Two of our observers actually worked as administrative interns, during which time they worked both in Mr. Drucker's office and in the program office. Mr. Sontag often expressed his admiration for Penny Ottman's handling of her job. He also once told us that he was concerned about Mr. Drucker's office and was going to ask him to prepare an efficiency study by visiting another high school and comparing operations. He told us, "When he does that, he's going to come back with his tail between his legs, because I just talked with this other principal. He has more kids than we have, and his AP only has ten secretaries. We have fourteen."

In Mrs. Ottman's case, the discrepancy between her formal position in the hierarchy and her actual functions in the school extended beyond the functional autonomy of her job as program coordinator. She also had the ear of the principal and often consulted with him in the informal policy-making body in the school known as the cabinet. The formal policy-making body was the executive council but both the principal and Mrs. Ottman told our observers that the real decisions in the school were made in the cabinet. In practice, the cabinet consisted of the principal in consultation with one or several of the following: Mr. Drucker, Mrs. Weissman, Mrs. Ottman, and Marsha Finney, a department chairman and head of a special program at a separate location. Thus, the cabinet is an informally constituted body. Towards other teachers, Mrs. Ottman often functioned as one of the most ardent defenders of the principal and his policies. Mrs. Ottman's influence in the school was far greater than her actual status in the formal organization, which in fact was as a teacher, would indicate. She derived this influence both from her expertise and consequent functional autonomy as program coordinator and from her personal relationship with the principal. It should be pointed out that although her own personal characteristics had much to do with the informal roles she created for herself, her case is not unique in the New York City school system. In fact, it seems very likely that the position of program coordinator will soon be formalized as an administrative position all across the city. As in the case of Mr. Forsythe in Sheffield, the formal organization seems to be responding to new problems by adding a new position to the formal organization chart. The new problems in this case prominently include the maze of new programs and curricula to which Mr. Sontag was also responding when he stated his conception of hierarchy.

Though other members of his administration clearly had a great deal of functional autonomy and exhibited some informal specialization of functions (as in the case of the cabinet), Mr. Sontag had no hesitation about intruding into their domains when one of his projects led him there. Mrs. Weissman oversaw most of the non-classroom student activities by herself most of the time, but, in one case, Mr. Sontag instituted a rule about student clubs that enabled him to control which teachers became advisors. The student clubs have their own charter and budget from the city which technically give them some autonomy from the principal, in such matters as the distribution of their budget and the choosing of advisors. A choice of a new advisor requires the joint approval of the principal and the student government. Mr. Sontag established a rule requiring that three names be submitted to him as candidates for any new advisorship. In one case, he used this rule to keep a teacher out as advisor to a prestigious culture club for Hispanic students. He thus circumvented one rule by complicating it with another and once again reaffirming his authority. He did not have to know the day-to-day operations of Mrs. Weissman's office in order to do this. He simply stepped into a usually autonomous domain when he needed to.

In another case, he secured the collaboration of Penny Ottman in harassing one of the teachers he considered "subversive" because this teacher was an outspoken opponent of his policies. We know about this manipulation of the programming office for political purposes from both the teacher in question and from the program coordinator herself.

Inasmuch as the programming office determines where all teachers and students are supposed to be throughout the day, the power of that office to control people's lives in school is considerable. We know from Mrs. Ottman that in some cases this power has been used for such purposes. She indicated that she only did such things at the direction of the principal, but, at the same time, she indicated that she was the one who had the expertise and resources to carry these directives out. She indicated that the principal himself is aware of the potential power of the programming office when she told us, "Sontag keeps saying that he has to get into programming. He knows he doesn't understand it like I do, and he keeps saying that one of these days he is really going to get into it."

The principal's manipulations of the three-name rule and of the programming office show that he is aware of the implications of functional autonomy. His administrative skill and political savvy (if not his scruples) are manifest in his ability to let others take responsibility for day-to-day operations while retaining for himself the option to step into these areas when his purposes so lead him there.

Programming: The Master Bureaucrat's Task and Its Effects on School Life

Now that we have seen the important role that programming plays in the patterns of power and influence among administrators, let us look more closely at the actual procedures involved in this complex bureaucratic task and the effects of these procedures on the lives of Sheridan's students and teachers.

Sheridan's grade advisors are teachers who spend several periods a day advising students on their course selections and preparing the schedules of classrooms, students, and teachers for the upcoming term, as well as working out the many problems that must be adjusted during the term. The grade advisors are under the AP for Pupil Personnel Services, Mrs. Weissman, in the organization chart, but, for most of their operations, they are directed by the programming head, Penny Ottman, who is under the AP for Administration, Mr. Drucker, in the organization chart. This dual supervision of the grade advisors is a function of their dual roles, one as advisors to students and the other as preparers of administrative schedules. Mrs. Ottman spends most of her day in one of the cubicles in a room on the first floor of the main building. The other cubicles are used by the grade advisors, so that they and Mrs. Ottman are in close physical proximity. Mr. Drucker's office is at the other end of the hall. Mrs. Weissman once explained to us the constraints on the grade advisors.

> The situation is that if you are a grade advisor, there is a ration of one to 390 kids. Your chief job is programming. When you finish one programming for one semester, you almost immediately have to begin programming for the next semester. You're also continually making program adjustments. They are also trying more recently to give quasi-guidance programs, such as working with the cutting dean on cutters, working with the attendance office on truants, but the magnitude of the job is such that this is really too much to ask of these people, though we do ask.

In a later portion of this interview, as well as on several other occasions, Mrs. Weissman lamented to us the fact that the number of guidance counselors available was wholly inadequate to meet the needs of students. There is one counselor at the annex for 1100 students and two in the main building for 4000 students. Guidance counselors are also supposed to advise their counselees on their program choices and work with the grade advisors, so that there is considerable overlap of functions between these two job categories.

The large number of students with which each advisor and counselor must deal necessarily limits the amount of attention that can be given to each program. We observed that some students get a great deal of attention from the advisors and counselors, but that many are passed over very quickly. One of the grade advisor's cubicles served as informal territory for a clique of students who were friendly with this man. Nonetheless, when programming for the upcoming term began in earnest, he was forced to process his advisees as quickly as possible.

One of our field techniques in Sheridan was to follow a person around all day, charting all of his/her actions and interactions. We once followed an Hispanic girl named Carmen Nieves, who was a serious class cutter,on the day she was supposed to work out her new program. She first went to her grade advisor. Their interaction was absolutely minimal. Carmen spoke barely a word and accepted the grade advisor's course suggestions without any comment even though she was in serious academic trouble and needed much attention. Later in the day, she visited her guidance counselor. This interaction was much different because Carmen worked in her free periods in the office adjoining the counselor's and the counselor knew her and her problems with cutting. The counselor had Carmen bring her mother to school the next day. The three of them became involved in a lengthy compassionate discussion of Carmen's problems and then decided on steps to be taken which could alter her situation.

The discrepancy between Carmen's treatment by her grade advisor and by her guidance counselor is not due so much to the callousness of one and the compassion of the other as to the fact that one knew her and her problems personally and the other did not. Given the possibly bewildering variety of classes and curricula and special programs available in Sheridan, the student, especially the student with problems, needs personal advice. From the other side, the many classes and programs need to be filled with the students who will most benefit.

The grade advisors and counselors, however, though they may be able to give personal attention in some cases, have a job of such complexity that they must rely heavily on some set of standardized rules for fitting together students, teachers, classrooms, and curricula. The standardized method used to be the formal tracking system. Official school and system policy now proclaims that there is no tracking. In the sense that students are no longer automatically put into either all "academic" (high-track) or "modified" (low-track) classes, this policy does reflect reality.

There has been a nationwide controversy about dividing students into classes on the basis of ability for some years now. The abolition of the formal tracking system is one result of that controversy. Tracking was eliminated in New York City because it was considered discriminatory. The discrimination referred to is racial discrimination, since in practice the formal tracking system served to divide white and minority students into separate classes and thus produce a "resegregation effect."

In Weberian terms, the tracking system controversy is related to the ambiguity of the position of the student in the organization, the client/employee muddle we discussed earlier. If students are seen as employees, then grouping them by some criterion of merit (grades or test scores) for the performance of tasks (class work) is justified by the criterion of efficiency. If students are seen as clients, however, then this practice does not seem so justified, as there is some research evidence that tracking does not serve to improve the services delivered to students.

In Sheridan, formal tracking may have been abolished, but the current system, which relies heavily on block programming and on the use of reading scores (even for programming math and science classes) has very similar results to those of an actual tracking system. The bottom two floors of classrooms in Sheridan (there are no classrooms on the first floor, except for one special program) have many classes whose student membership is primarily black and Hispanic. The upper two floors have many classes whose student membership is primarily white and Chinese. These distinctions are by no means absolute, since there are many classes with quite diverse ethnic membership. Still, the resegregation effect is pronounced enough that the ethnic differences between the bottom two and top two floors of Sheridan's main building are easily visible even to the casual observer.

There are many sensitive moral, educational, political, and psychometric issues involved in the kind of problem that we are discussing. National and regional policies on these matters are in turmoil and important court cases bearing on these issues are now pending. Our purpose here is not to formulate policy or to try answer the questions involved once and for all. The kind of analysis we are engaged in, however, can help us to see what the results of certain policies are on the social organization of the schools which they effect.

Besides tracking, the city school system has also abolished the use of IQ scores in the school as too inaccurate for the purposes for which they were being used, such as distributing students into various levels of classes. Both of these measures were intended to promote fairness, but the simple abolition of tracking and IQ measurements has not really affected practice, in Sheridan, at least, because no consideration was taken of the essential part these procedures played in the school's social organization.

Penny Ottman, the program coordinator and acknowledged expert of programming, once described this situation to one of our observers. She told him, "You know, tracking was eliminated because it was supposed to be discriminatory, but we do everything now just about the same as we always did." She was referring to the fact of block programming which, under current conditions, seems to her a necessity of life, given the number of students, the variety of programs and classes, and the limited resources for fitting them all together. Two of our observers, in fact, learned much of the system from her and even participated as programmers during their internships. We saw during this period the crucial importance of the reading score, which has taken over all the functions of the IQ score. Mrs. Ottman was also quite candid to us about this matter, She told us, "We can't use the IQ scores anymore." The observer asked, "It seems that the reading score now serves the same function." Mrs. Ottman replied, "Yes. Frankly, I wouldn't mind seeing the IQ scores again." Thus, the system-wide policy of mandating the elimination of practices that are considered unjust, has little effect because it provides no alternative mechanism to replace the procedures it undercuts. Of course, schools now have more latitude in assigning programs and in some cases are able to individualize a program to a student's particular needs. These cases must remain marginal, however, until new resources and procedures are found.

The extraordinary importance of the reading score in Sheridan can be seen in Weberian terms as a problematic attempt to operationalize an impersonal standard of merit. The problem is that psychometricians have yet to devise a readily useful, objective index of ability which they consider accurate enough to assume the social responsibilities which have fallen to reading and IQ scores. The complexity of the job of the programmers at Sheridan is such that they cannot currently fit everything together without some such readily useful criterion. The reading score is also emphasized at the system level in New York City. A recent ruling requires that all high school students must have a reading score of 8.0 in order to graduate. This ruling has had a direct effect on programming, as nearly half of Sheridan's students are now enrolled in one of three federally funded reading programs.

It should be clear from the discussion of programming in Sheridan up to this point that the single most influential factor on the sorting of students and teachers into groups and activities is programming. The size of the school is such that two students who are close friends outside of school may never encounter each other inside school unless their programs throw them together. The size of the school and the complexity of programming do much to minimize the effects on sorting inside the school of personal relationships from outside the school.

Another aspect of scheduling in Sheridan to be considered is the effect of size and complexity on efficiency. We have mentioned that the efficiency of the programming office as a source of pride to the administration. Nonetheless, there are many inefficiencies connected with the bell schedules, record-keeping, and the coordination of activities. For example, one common problem is that students switch their programs around a great deal, especially during the early part of the terms. We attended a meeting of the executive council (comprised of the principal, the VP's, and the department chairmen) at which this situation was discussed. The music chairman asked the other chairmen how many of them had instructed their teachers to develop uniform lesson plans in order to minimize the delay in starting the term's curriculum. All the chairmen raised their hands to indicate that they had done this. Our observers visited several classes on the first day of several terms, however, and they were told by teachers on several occasions that nothing much happens the first week of school because of all the changes.

Another source of confusion in the scheduling system is that there exists not one but five bell schedules. There is a standard timetable which lists three of the schedules; one standard, and two others which add seven and fourteen minutes, respectively, to the homeroom periods for days when special record-keeping or other activities must be conducted in the homerooms. Besides these three schedules, there are two special schedules, which occur every two weeks, one for general faculty meetings and one for department meetings. These schedules are printed in the bi-weekly calendar prepared by Mr. Drucker's office for teachers. Many teachers do not keep up with the calendar, however, and students are often totally at a loss for the day's time schedules. Students are informed in their classes, but the high cutting rate means that many never hear what the next day's schedule will be. Also, many schedule announcements are given over the PA during homerooms, but many homeroom periods are so noisy that it is impossible to hear the PA. Here is one of our observer's account of one of his first experiences with this type of confusion:

"One thing to remember today is that there is a special bell schedule and each period is about a half hour long. The crazy thing is that people get unbelievably upset in the sense that they are continually asking what period is this, what time does this period end, how long are the periods. I must have heard this kind of question twenty or thirty times today."

The comparison of programming and scheduling between the two smaller schools and Sheridan yields one of the most striking cases for characterizing the organization of Green Valley and Sheffield as more organic and that of Sheridan as much more bureaucratic, though none of the three schools should be seen as an ideal type. We saw that the new curriculum in Sheffield has necessitated more bureaucratized procedures just as the proliferation of new programs such as the reading programs has done in Sheridan. Similarly, there are certainly organic factors that come into play in Sheridan, such as the occasional political uses of the programming office and the personal relationships that exist between some students and some programmers. In an aggregate sense, however, one can fairly say that there is little room in Sheridan for the kind of personal considerations that come into play in Green Valley and Sheffield. The Sheridan situation requires a large, coordinated staff with technical expertise operating by a set of well-defined, comparatively rigid criteria for fitting classrooms, teachers, students, and time periods together.

Influences on the School of External Rules

Heretofore in this unit, our discussions of rules in schools has focused mainly on the micro-level rules enforced inside the school building to regulate the minute-to-minute behavior of the population. We have concentrated on the bureaucratic characteristic of fixed rules principally as it relates to the social control of student behavior, and, to a lesser extent, as it relates to the social control of teacher behavior. The social organization of schools is also influenced most importantly by rules which are formulated at a bureaucratic level higher than that of the building administration. We saw one instance of this in the pressure from the board in Green Valley that forced the principal to institute the new smoking rules which had such extensive repercussions during the year of our study. The complex administrative position of Sheridan, situated as it is in the middle of a vast citywide bureaucracy and depending also heavily on appropriations from the state and federal governments, makes Sheridan particularly susceptible to influences from outside the school. We have already seen the influence of some particular regulations, such as those abolishing tracking and IQ scores and requiring minimal reading scores. We have also had a glimpse of the principal's concern that his authority within the building may be eroded by all the external controls that come with new allocations, as in the case of the teacher trainers offered by the board.

One of the external regulations which has the most profound influence on Sheridan is that tying allocations of funds for operating expenses to attendance figures. Sheridan, like most schools in the city has a severe problem with attendance, and this problem, combined with the general financial problems of the city school system, has resulted in a steady reduction of teacher positions in the school over the last few terms. Here are some excerpts from an executive council meeting in which the attendance problem was discussed. Editorial observations will be enclosed in double parentheses:

> "Then Mr. Fishman ((the speech chairman)) started saying, "The kids aren't coming to school, the Hispanic kids aren't coming. ((It is true that the attendance rates for ethnic groups vary. There are more Hispanic students on the register than Chinese, but differential attendance rates have the result that there are nearly equal numbers of Chinese and Hispanic students in attendance on a given day.)) Couldn't we have the family workers go out there?" Mr. Sontag then said, "Even for white kids we need to work." Mrs. Weissman ((AP for Pupil Personnel Services)) said, "The desirable thing is to coordinate the school and the home. The bureau of attendance has got to know about our school and our population and our need for family assistants. The whole problem is that there really has to be planning and the setting of priorities, and additional money has to be allocated to get workers out there." ((Notice the bureaucratic bind here. The bureau of attendance is bureaucratically separated from the Sheridan administration, leaving them powerless to influence their policies and priorities. Another thing to be pointed out here is that despite Mrs. Weissman's perception of the need for closer coordination between home and school, very little exists. Sheridan draws students from all over the city, and the difficulties of getting together for meetings at night results in an almost non-existent parents' organization. The most common reason for parents to have contact with the school is that in which they come to speak to the guidance counselors about discipline or attendance problems, that is after trouble and not before it.))
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> The next thing discussed was the way in which the allocation figures were worked out. Penny Ottman gave a formula which included the no-shows. ((No-shows are students on the register who never come at all. Notice the way in which Mrs. Ottman, who is the only person here who is not officially an administrator, functions as expert on bureaucratic detail.)) Then Mr. Sontag said, "Abe Beame got smart." He was referring to the fact that allocations are now figured on the basis of attendance figures rather than on the basis of enrollment figures."

We see in this incident that the new allocation rules have forced the Sheridan administration to focus new attention on the familiar problem of low attendance. (The actual rates, by the way, according to Mrs. Ottman, fluctuate between fifty-nine and seventy per cent. At one point during our first year of observation, the figure threatened to drop below fifty per cent, precipitating a flurry of concern and emphasis on attendance by adults throughout the school.) Given the separation of the personnel once called "truant officers" from the Sheridan administration, and the general inadequacy of personnel to deal with such a high absence rate, the school is relatively powerless to affect the situation. The emphasis on attendance could be seen throughout the school, however. In the offices of the guidance counselors and grade advisors, attendance was one of the most discussed topics with students. In faculty meetings, there were usually discussions as to how to raise attendance. On several occasions, we saw someone start to offer a suggestion such as, "If you talk to them as soon as the problem starts, you can make a difference." The general response from other teachers to such simple solutions always included many cynical and skeptical remarks.

Another influence of external regulations, of which we have already seen examples, is the attraction exerted by new programs in the form of the new resources they bring with them. We have seen how the principal was willing to sacrifice positions in the case of the teacher trainers rather than accept the concurrent erosions of his control. This was an instance of a program formulated outside the school, but the Sheridan administration was itself engaged in devising new curricula. Just before we began fieldwork, the school had received financing for and instituted a curriculum called the School for International Studies. As we were completing our fieldwork, plans for another curriculum, to be called a Communications School, were underway. Such new curricula offer both new funds, as well as an opportunity to have more honors students assigned to the school. In the case of the SIS, for example, only students with a certain level of grades can be admitted. In addition, since it is the only program of the kind in the city, any student in the city can be sent to Sheridan. Thus, the normal zoning regulations are suspended for such specialty programs.

One teacher with whom we talked charged that this kind of policy involved a conscious attempt on the part of the principal to change the ethnic percentage in the school by evading the zoning regulations that currently send students from areas of the city populated by blacks and Hispanics. We have no direct corroboration of this teacher's statement, and we do know that there was considerable enmity between him and the principal. The teacher himself was Hispanic, had taught in the school before Mr. Sontag's arrival, and left the school shortly after the new principal's arrival. Nonetheless, we did make other observations which indicated that there might be direct, conscious concern over ways to change ethnic percentages in the school by bureaucratic manipulations, and not only on the part of the principal. A new high school was due to be built in the vicinity of Sheridan. A common topic of discussion during our fieldwork among virtually all the adults in the school was whether the new school would take all the Chinese students from Sheridan. A high proportion of honors students in Sheridan are Chinese, and the general fear was that losing the Chinese population would lower the school's academic standards.

Another policy which was criticized by the principal's political opponents was that of transferring students with low grades and poor attendance records, a large proportion of whom were black and Hispanic, into two special programs leading to an alternate form of high school diploma. Even though they grudgingly admitted some approval of the programs themselves, the principal's opponents charged that he was using them as "dumping grounds" for black and Hispanic students.

We cannot state in all certainty that the search for new programs in Sheffield was connected to a conscious attempt to alter the ethnic balance, but we did make direct observations of policy-making activities in which the connection between new programs and new funds was explicit. At another executive council meeting, for example, our observer recorded the following observations:

> "Then the principal announced that there was possibly a way that they could get another $250,000 next year, and that they ((the council)) should decide on what they would like to have funded. They discussed some ideas, such as having parent education in hospitals, and also, they brought the idea of a museum school again. Finally, Mrs. Weissman said, 'Why do we have to keep dragging up new ideas?' Mr. Sontag replied, 'Because they won't honor old ideas.' "

We see in this incident that the existing structure of allocation policies often ties the local school's possibilities for obtaining new funds specifically to the creation and implementation of new programs. In the case of the formalization of the role of curriculum coordinator in Sheffield, we speculated that this was an instance of the formal organization's responding to emergent needs by modifying its own structure. The case of the expansion of the reading programs in Sheridan also seems to be one of response to emergent needs. The cases of the special schools, however, such as the already established SIS, the Communications School currently being implemented, and future possibilities such as the museum school or a parent education program, are less cases of specific responses to emergent needs than of continuing strategies for increasing allocations. In the principal's mind, as we see in the above incident, the actual content of a new program is less important than its likelihood of getting funded.

Policy-Making and Problem-Solving

We have already seen that Sheridan's principal, Mr. Sontag, is a powerful and effective, though controversial and often feared, policy maker. We have also seen that the size and complexity of Sheridan are such that he cannot possibly keep a day-to-day watch over every sector of activity, and, consequently, there exist domains of functional autonomy which are controlled by others than the principal, even though he does not hesitate to step into these domains when he wishes. Let us now take a more systematic look at policy-making in Sheridan to see what policy-making roles are open to other administrators, teachers, students, and parents.

The contrast between the informal administrative known as the "cabinet" and the formally constituted body known as the "executive council" has already been discussed. The executive council is made up of the department chairmen, who are also Vice Principals, the Vice Principals for administration (Mr. Drucker, Mrs. Weissman, and Mr. Goldstone), and Mrs. Ottman, the Program Coordinator. The cabinet's membership is more ad hoc. Depending on the situation, Mr. Sontag consults with one or more of a group consisting of Mrs. Weissman, Mr. Drucker, Mrs. Finney, and Mrs. Ottman. Our observers in Sheridan regularly attended the weekly meetings of the executive council, but we were never able to penetrate the workings of the cabinet. In fact, we had been in the school for several months before we even knew of its existence. Mrs. Ottman and Mr. Sontag both indicated to us that the more important body of the two for the formulation of policy was the informal body, the cabinet. Most of the important topics in the school were actually discussed in the executive council meetings, but the actual formulation of policy to deal with problems could seldom be seen to result from these meetings. Rather, the executive council meetings served the purpose of allowing the council's members to express their opinions and to establish themselves as a group, that is, to establish a sense of commonalty as "administrators" as distinct from teachers or students.

Another aspect of the executive council which relates to its relative powerlessness as a policy-making body is the fact that over three-quarters of the department chairmen are designated as "Acting Chairman." This designation entails that the incumbents hold their positions only at the discretion of the principal and are thus doubly subject to his authority, in that they are both beneath him in the formal hierarchy and have but a temporary lease on their own positions in the hierarchy. The most important roles that we observed the department chairmen performing during the period of our fieldwork were roles connected with the implementation rather than the formulation of policy. Thus, the executive council meetings served more the purpose of instructing the chairmen in the policies to be implemented and the ways to implement them than they did the purpose of affording the chairmen direct input into the policy-making process.

Faculty meetings were held at regular two-week intervals during the two years that we observed Sheridan. Once a month, large session general faculty meetings were held, and, once a month meetings of the individual departments were held. These meetings always were called for the discussion of some specified topic, such as "How to handle discipline problems," "How to teach the slow learner" and other, similarly problem-oriented topics. The observed input into the policy-making process from faculty meetings, however, was far less even than that of the executive council. The problem focus of the meetings produced several situations in which we observed the principal's opponents attempting to take issue with his policies. Inasmuch as these meetings were open forums, those teachers with gripes were easily able to speak their minds, but these occasional outbursts did little to alter the course of the principal's policies. Some of those teachers whom we knew to be bitter opponents of the principal told us that they no longer bothered to speak out publicly in these meetings because they were aware of the futility of doing so.

Our conclusion, after our three Sheridan observers had collectively observed some dozens of such faculty meetings, was that these meetings actually served as administrative control devices by going through the motions of collegial discussion and presenting an appearance of collegial relations among teachers and administrators, while in fact the policy-making process remained tightly under the control of the principal. The meetings of the executive council could be similarly characterized. One observable means employed by the administration for controlling the faculty meetings was that of controlling the agenda of the meetings. In a set of small group discussions organized to discuss the topic "How to handle discipline problems," for example, the groups were given an agenda with seven questions to be discussed in a thirty-five minute period. Our observers in two of the groups reported that, in fact, the groups had dutifully spent five minutes on each question. In Unit II, we will examine one such faculty meeting in detail to see how this process of cooptation operates.

If Sheridan teachers were powerless to oppose the principal's policies, there still existed domains of functional autonomy in which they could introduce some innovations and solve some of their own problems. One of these domains was the creation of elective courses around topics and curricula invented by the teachers themselves. Such courses did not account for a large proportion of the curriculum, as they did in Sheffield where teachers were strongly encouraged and perhaps even indirectly coerced to participate in the individualization movement, by designing individualized courses, but we did observe the institution of two courses put together by Sheridan teachers. One was a course in oceanography and another was a course in the "literature of controversy."

Besides having observed teachers making inputs into the curriculum, we also observed some teachers who functioned as informal leaders in problem solving. One such teacher was a member of the language department, Raul Garcia. Mr. Garcia had taught at Sheridan for several years before Mr. Sontag's arrival. He had been involved in administrative activities such as programming and setting up special language programs under the previous principal. He had also emerged as a leader of teachers during the 1966 teacher strike, and after the strike, he had served for a while as UFT representative. After clashing with Mr. Sontag as the union representative, however, he was voted out in favor of the current representative, Bill Lowry, who had run on the campaign of being a compromiser rather than a confronter. Mr. Garcia told us that he had himself wanted to work cooperatively with the principal, but had not been able to do so. In any event, his role as political leader ceased when he was voted out as UFT representative, but he still had considerable influence over a number of teachers. We often saw him approached for advice by a number of teachers, many of whom were in the language department. On one occasion, we observed an informal meeting in the language department office of Mr. Garcia and several other language teachers. Here are some excerpts of our notes on this meeting:

> "When I ((our observer)) came in, Raul was talking with another Spanish teacher, Theresa Nieves. They were talking about the difficulty of dealing with the Developmental Lesson Plan in their classes. ((The DLP as a model of instruction is one of Mr. Sontag's most insisted upon policies)). Raul was saying, 'It's very hard to have groups of kids working because of this developmental lesson plan.' I asked him, 'Is it impossible to have groups because of the developmental plan?' He said, 'No, it isn't absolutely impossible, but the general feeling, at least among the department chairmen, is that they would rather not have grouping within the class. They would rather just have the class function as one unit, but that is impossible when you have native and non-native speakers.'
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> Other people started coming into the room now, and Raul started the meeting by saying, 'What we want to discuss is the problem of fewer kids in the language classes and what we can do about it.' ((This is also the problem that plagues Mr. Rosen, the language chairman, who is conspicuously not present at this informal meeting of his department. This problem has much to do with the influence of external rules. Foreign languages as a requirement for high school graduation in the city have recently been abolished, and enrollment in language courses across the city has plummeted. Due to its large immigrant population, however, Sheridan still has a large language program with offerings such as Italian and Chinese.)) The meeting continued as the teachers discussed specific aspects of this problem. Some of them seemed to blame the grade advisors for not assigning students to language classes. Two teachers came in mid-way through the meeting, and Mr. Garcia filled them in, 'We're trying to figure out ways of having the language courses have more students in them and also be divided up so that the class size is actually smaller than it is now.'
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> The teachers then began to discuss how they were going to go about this. One of them said, 'It's absolutely essential that we have Seymour Rosen's support. ((He is their chairman.)) We can't just go down there ourselves. (('Down there' is the first floor where the administrative offices are located.)) They won't listen

> to us.' Then Theresa said, 'Well, you know, we've gone to Rosen before and nothing has happened.' Then the bell rang and everyone left with the question still hanging in the air."

This meeting shows Mr. Garcia acting as an informal leader and potential policy-maker, but the closing comments also indicate the absolute necessity of directing the results of the meeting through formal channels if anything is ever to come of their plans.

The primary way in which Sheridan teachers can have input into school policy is through their union, the UFT. We have already pointed out, however, that the current UFT representative was elected as someone who could work with the principal on amicable terms. Both the representative himself, Bill Lowry, and the co-representatives whom he replaced, one of whom was Raul Garcia, as well as many other union members, told our observers that this platform was the basis of Lowry's election. We did see Mr. Lowry negotiating with the principal on a number of occasions. The bottom line of these negotiations was always the UFT contract, considered inviolable by all parties. Referred to simply as "the contract," the UFT contract is a long and detailed document containing detailed agreements on almost every aspect of teachers' rights and obligations. We heard "the contract" referred to constantly throughout our fieldwork, in such phrases as "it's not in the contract" or "it's right there in the contract." The contract could never become a basis for opposition to the principal's policies, however, since Mr. Sontag himself was well aware of its provisions and careful not to violate them. Mr. Sontag was himself a union man in the past. He once told us in an interview that he thinks one of the bases for his success as an administrator is that he knows the union inside and out and has often fought on that side of the fence himself. He claims to understand the tactics available to teachers through their union better than they do themselves.

There exist several formally established channels through which students are supposed to have some inputs into the policy-making process. All the various official clubs and student organizations in Sheridan are administered under an umbrella organization called the Student Organization, generally referred to in the school as the SO. The SO, in turn, is administered by an elected group of students who compose the SO Executive Council. An overall grade average of 80 is required for candidacy for the Executive Council, thus restricting the possibility of membership in that body to a small percentage of Sheridan students. The SO Executive Council is responsible for allocating to the various organizations several thousands of dollars which derive from student membership fees and funds from the board. The council also plans, publicizes, and helps supervise dances, plays, shows, trips, and fund-raising events for special causes.

One of our observers spent a considerable amount of time with the members of the SO Executive Council, and he observed a clear pattern of undermining of their responsibilities by the administration. Two teachers who worked with this group, which had a territory of its own in the form of an office on the third floor, constantly put them through exercises which were supposed to teach them "leadership" and "decision-making." When leadership and decision-making became real possibilities, however, rather than mere exercises, these students were often undercut. We saw many examples of this.

During the middle of one year, for example, the SO council discovered that it had a surplus of funds which would be reabsorbed by the board if they were not quickly reallocated among the various student organizations. The students on the council wanted to use the money for one purpose, to purchase some sex education materials. The boys' health education chairman, however, who had heard about the funds through the grapevine, went to the principal to ask for more money for sports equipment. Allocations of SO funds, meanwhile, must be approved by both the SO council and the principal. The students, one of their advisors, and the principal met. Each of these three parties left the meeting with a different understanding of what had been agreed upon, but the boys' health education chairman eventually received the money, to the outraged reaction of some of the students.

The appointment of a new advisor to one of the clubs similarly requires joint approval of the SO council and the principal, but the principal gained complete control of this process by refining the mandated "joint approval" to mean that the council must submit three names, of which the principal would choose one. Mr. Sontag used this rule to block the appointment of Raul Garcia as advisor to one of the Hispanic clubs. This tactic on the part of Mr. Sontag can be seen as a bureaucratic tactic of manipulating rules against rules. As principal he has the right to decide a case where rules conflict with each other.

The consistent undercutting of the SO council by the administration on one side was balanced by a general disinterest in the SO activities on the part of the majority of students. The surplus of funds was a function of this disinterest. When election time came around for the selection of the next year's SO council, the advisors were hard pressed to find enough students with both acceptable grades and interest in the activity. Thus, the SO council, though it had a significant amount of formal authority and resources, had neither a base of support among the students nor did it have the kind of relationship with the administration which would allow it to have any real effect on the school. This is not to say that some SO activities were not successful, but, rather, that as the policy-making body that they are formally empowered to be, they were powerless.

As for Sheridan parents as a group with potential input into policy, we have already mentioned that the parents' organization in Sheridan was virtually non-existent, due to the gerrymandered zoning districts which bring students from all over the city.

The overall picture of the policy-making process in Sheffield is one which presents a strong contrast between an extensive apparatus of formally constituted committees and organizations with very little effect on policy on the one hand and the principal and his informally constituted cabinet with a virtual monopoly of power on the other. The inviolable UFT contract is the major exception to this pattern, and that contract is negotiated by powerful union leaders far removed from the local school population.

Merit and Standards: Performance Measures and Their Relation to Social Control in Sheridan

Now that we have examined in some detail the process by which policy is made in Sheridan, let us see how and to what extent policies are implemented and what sectors of activity are affected. Mr. Sontag's policies were overwhelmingly the most prominent ones, and they can be divided into two general categories: those designed to maintain internal order in the school and those designed to promote a particular set of standards of performance. We will first consider this latter category and relate it to a discussion of the Weberian bureaucratic characteristic of merit as the basis for assigning positions and functions within an organization.

We mentioned in the Introduction that the relation of the bureaucratic principal of merit to life in school organizations can be quite complex, especially in cases where there exist alternative and sometimes conflicting standards by which merit is assessed. The situation in which a teacher holds a higher academic degree than his/her supervisor (a situation which exists in Sheridan) is one example of conflicting scales of merit. The teacher can claim one kind of expertise, as represented by an advanced degree. The supervisor can claim another kind of expertise, as represented by the supervisor's license.

Mr. Sontag had very definite ideas of how merit should be evaluated in Sheridan, and he placed much emphasis on such evaluations. Both he and his coterie of supporters often mentioned the phrases "the merit system" and "maintaining standards." Mr. Sontag even told us in an interview that he considered his mission in Sheridan to be "restoring standards." In that he did specify and implement a detailed, operationalized set of criteria for the measurement of performance of teachers, Mr. Sontag can aptly be characterized as an extremely bureaucratic administrator. He operated by a definite and coherent system which he applied assiduously throughout the school. He is thus a striking example of the bureaucratic mentality which tries to shape social organization in advance by a set of pre-determined, fixed rules, very much according to the Weberian conception.

We cannot fail to mention, however, that although Mr. Sontag greatly emphasized regularized procedures and standards, he often manipulated these very procedures and standards in his personal and political struggles to maintain social control in Sheridan.

As we look into the details of this situation, we will see that the inter-relationships among the principle of merit, the particular ways in which merit becomes defined in practice, and the processes of social control are quite complex. In Weber's original conception, as well as in many of our traditions such as the civil service, employment on the basis of merit must be arrived at through some fair and impersonal method of assessing merit. The problem is that, as with the use of reading and IQ scores for separating children into instructional groups, sufficiently accurate, fair, and impersonal standards of merit are difficult to find and operationalize. A recent example of this problem is the current quandary in New York City over examinations for school administrators. Recent court decisions about these and other examination systems have mandated that the connection between the examination and the qualities desired for performance of the specific job for which the examination qualifies be clearly demonstrated. Thus far, that demonstration (in psychometric terms, the examination must be shown to have a certain rate of success as predictor of successful job performance) has proved impossible. Examination systems may be "objective" and "impersonal" in that they yield quantitative scores by which job applicants can be ranked. Yet the ranking system so obtained may have no demonstrable correspondence to eventual job performance. This situation is an instance of the general problem we have discussed in relation to the Weberian model of bureaucracy;

that is, that fixed, pre-determined rules and procedures cannot always anticipate the complexities of organizational life. With this general problem in mind, let us see what some of the consequences are of Mr. Sontag's "mission to restore standards" in Sheridan High School.

In order to understand Mr. Sontag's commitment to "standards" and especially to quantitatively measurable aspects of performance, it is necessary first to know that he himself is a product of the old examination system for principals. The examinations were his port of entry into his current position. Those examinations have now been abolished, for a number of reasons, including the problem of prediction discussed above, and also because those examinations, like tracking and the use of IQ scores, had been successfully attacked as discriminatory. The abolition of the old examination system also came in the context of the decentralization movement in the city, whereby more power to select school personnel was delegated to local school districts. High schools in New York, however, remained exempt from decentralization, and, as a consequence, Mr. Sontag is responsible almost entirely to the central school bureaucracy and not to any neighborhood or group of neighborhoods.

It is in this context that the many comments we heard in Sheridan, from Mr. Sontag as well as from many other adults who had been in the system for many years, about the merit system must be understood. Often, the mention of "the merit system" by these people would be accompanied by a sorrowful shake of the head or a consecutive speculation about how schools could "maintain standards." One discussion we observed in an executive council meeting kept contrasting "the merit system" with what they called "the non-merit system." The topic of this particular discussion was a study which had recently appeared showing that black supervisors had increased between 600 to 700 per cent since decentralization and the abolition of the old examinations. Although they did not explicitly say so, it seems reasonable to us to infer that these administrators, all of whom had come up under the old system, saw the new system as at least an indirect threat to their own jobs and possibilities for advancement.

Though Mr. Sontag believes earnestly in the merit system and the examination system through which he arrived at his own position, the forces for change at that level were above his control. The assessment of merit and the setting of standards for job performance below the level of the principalship, however, were very much under his control, and he instituted very specific standards for performance for all those beneath him in the hierarchy. The most controversial set of standards (as well as the most controversial issue in general in the school) he instituted were those revolving around the Developmental Lesson Plan as the model for instruction by which Sheridan teachers were evaluated.

The Developmental Lesson Plan is an old tradition in the New York City school system and is called for in other schools besides Sheridan, although in Sheridan it is called for absolutely, and dire consequences can follow for the teacher who ignores it. For those readers not familiar with the NYC system and the Developmental Lesson Plan (henceforth to be referred to as the "DLP"), we will describe it briefly. The DLP calls for several consecutive steps through which a classroom lesson is to be developed. (We will capitalize the offical names of these steps.) First, the Aim should be written on the board. The Aim is very similar to what is called a behavioral objective in other places. Then, a Motivation, some picture, puzzle, story, exercise, or other device for gaining the class' attention should be introduced. Next, a Transition from the Motivation to the actual lesson should be made. The main body of the lesson should consist of a series of Developmental Questions. These questions are posed by the teacher to the students for the purpose of structuring a discussion around the topic for the day as expressed in the Aim. The lesson should close with a Summary, relating the course of the discussion back to the Aim. A Medial Summary, that is a summary half way through the lesson, may also be included. Teachers are supposed to prepare Lesson Plans on this model for each class. If we refer back now to Mr. Garcia's complaint that the DLP makes it difficult to split classes up into groups, we see that this is in fact the case. The DLP is built around the concept of a classroom functioning as one group, in which everyone ideally should speak, but in which the teacher always controls the agenda.

The principal and the department chairman to whom he delegated much of the responsibilities for observations often were heard to say that the DLP is not the only way to teach and may not be the best way to teach in all circumstances. These statements were merely defenses against charges of rigidity, however, since Sheridan teachers were well aware of the necessity for using the DLP when observed.

Here is the account of a new teacher in Sheridan, a shop teacher named Pete Marco, of his first experience with Mr. Sontag's insistence on the DLP:

> "I was in my second week here. I had scarcely met the principal more than once, but I saw him looking in the door of my class, and I thought 'What the hell,' so I asked him if he would like to take a seat. He did so and then he stayed for the rest of the period. I didn't think anything of it until two days later, my chairman called me in. I was amazed to find that Mr. Sontag had written up a formal observation of the class, and it was unfavorable because I hadn't used the developmental lesson plan. I was really angry because here I had asked him in in good faith, and the next thing I know this unfavorable observation is going on my record. I explained the situation to my chairman, and he arranged with Mr. Sontag that that observation would be destroyed and I would have another chance. This time, I knew in advance when he was coming. I made up a perfect lesson plan, and my observation report was OK."

Pete Marco would probably not have had this problem had he been in the school a little longer before encountering his first observation. The importance of the DLP is communicated to new teachers in many ways, through both formal and informal channels. In faculty meetings early in the semester, the chairman goes through the steps of the DLP laboriously. In one such meeting we attended, the experienced teachers either groaned or made wisecracks when they learned the purpose of the meeting. The chairman explained, "This is mostly for the newcomers, but it won't hurt the rest of you to go over this again either." This was a departmental meeting. In several of the larger session faculty meetings, we observed representatives of the administration standing to tout some aspect of the DLP as relevant to a topic under discussion.

If a new teacher failed to apprehend the significance of the DLP through formal channels, she/he also had many opportunities to hear informally from other teachers how to appear during observations. Several times we heard some form of this advice given by older teachers to new arrivals, "You don't have to use a complete developmental plan everyday, but you should make it letter perfect when you are observed." Usually, a teacher is notified beforehand of an impending observation, thus giving him/her an opportunity to prepare in advance. We also observed teachers alerting their classes in advance of impending observations. In one such case, the teacher mentioned to the class in a casual tone of voice, "We're going to have a visitor next week." Two or three students started asking, "Who is it going to be?" The teacher replied, "It will either be Mr. Rabin ((his department chairman)) or the principal, so please try to speak up clearly that day. I would appreciate it." Our repeated observations of teachers in their classrooms and talking among themselves confirmed that Sheridan teachers are all aware that they will be observed and that they must teach according to the DLP when they are observed if they are to receive a favorable observation. The principal's standards and the fact that he enforced those standards strictly were well known to every Sheridan teacher.

Pete Marco was given a second chance to conform to the principal's standards, but others were not so lucky. The considerable tension between Mr. Sontag and his teaching staff during the period of our fieldwork can be directly and in large part attributed to the fact that, in his first year at Sheridan, Mr. Sontag handed out 17 ratings of "Unsatisfactory." As the teachers constantly told our observers, this was more U-ratings by far than had been given out in the past ten years. The ratings were based on the written reports of classroom observations conducted either by Mr. Sontag personally or by the department chairmen. The classroom observations, in turn, are based on the DLP, and the performance of teachers is rated against the ideal model set forth in the DLP.

The attitudes of Sheridan teachers about the intrinsic worth of the DLP varied considerably, from approval to scorn, but their attitudes towards the observations based on the DLP were much more unified. They feared these observations, and much of their union activities were directed towards ways to limit the power and scope of these observations. Various union issues considered during the period of our fieldwork included a dispute over the right of the principal to observe teachers teaching out of license, a dispute over the principal's right to see already completed lessons plans, a charge that the written reports did not accord with the conferences which follow the observations, and many individual negotiations between the UFT representative, Bill Lowry, and the principal over the details of particular observation reports.

In addition, some teachers, including some of those who had received the U-ratings and had since left the school, became frustrated with the union procedures and took their cases to court. As we were finishing our fieldwork, the principal had several suits against him pending. Some of these suits charged him with discrimination, since it was claimed that the vast proportion of the U-ratings had been given to non-Jewish teachers, who are a minority on the Sheridan staff. These suits reportedly involved thousands of dollars in legal fees on both sides. Mr. Sontag, when last we heard, was receiving complete support, including payment of his legal fees, from the central bureaucracy.

We had close informants on both sides of some of these fights between the principal and teachers who refused to accept his standards, and it would not be appropriate for us to take sides here, besides which, such taking of sides would only serve to cloud the issues we are trying to focus on at this point. If we step back from these political struggles and try to discount the personality conflicts involved, we begin to see a picture of what happens when an administrator really tries to establish and enforce strictly a definite set of rules. We saw in Sheffield that the administration does not feel that strict rule enforcement is always worth the cost. Mr. Sontag, on the other hand, whether because he is a more authoritarian personality, because he is in a different situation, or for whatever complex of causes, does choose to pay the costs of trying to fit complex reality into a set of predetermined rules. Even with the considerable effort he expends to insure the use of the DLP, he cannot have every teacher observed during every period, but he can and does make clear what the standards are and what the consequences of ignoring them are. His policy with regard to the DLP is quite consistent with his careful insistence on "One chain of command." These policies and others show Mr. Sontag to be a man trying to control a large organization by resorting to a classic model of bureaucracy in which the emphasis is always on hierarchical authority and fixed rules. Thus, although the sheer size of Sheridan makes it necessarily a more bureaucratically organized system than Green Valley or Sheffield, the policies of the principal reinforce these tendencies strongly.

In our discussion of the ways that students in Sheffield respond to rules, we observed that students seem to become legalistic themselves in response to the many rules they must deal with in school. As Sheffield's AP, Mr. Chevalier, observed students apprehended breaking rules often try to escape on technicalities, resorting to strict interpretations of rules, rather than challenging the rules themselves. A similar situation could be seen in the responses of Sheridan teachers to the principal's bureaucratic policies. Inasmuch as the principal gave U-ratings on the basis of formal observations, thus insuring that he had documents to back up his ratings, some teachers responded by making their own documents of observations, in the form of tape recordings of the class sessions that were observed. A source of much gossip and discussion, as well as joking among Sheffield teachers was the fact that two teachers (who were already threatened with U-ratings) had secretly made tapes of observed class sessions and post-observation conferences. We don't know if these tape recordings ever had any effect, though one of the tapes was made by one of the teachers involved in a court case, except that we heard the principal expressed his anger at having been taped. We can observe, however, that the tapings were a bureaucratic response to a bureaucratic predicament. Weber emphasized that bureaucracies are characterized by procedures that are specified in writing or in some fixed form so that they can be appealed to publicly and equally by everyone. The principal's insistence on fighting through formal channels resulted in his opponents trying to gain some control over those formal channels by keeping their own records of the proceedings.

We should point out here that only a minority of Sheridan teachers were open and outspoken opponents of the principal. Many teachers were carefully apolitical and avoided being identified as either allies or opponents of the principal. The plights of the principal's opponents were cited by these teachers as reasons for complying with the principal's policies. As one young teacher, who was active in the union and friendly with some of the principal's opponents told us, "You have to understand that Mr. Sontag loves a good fight. You'll never get anywhere by openly opposing him. The only way you will ever get anywhere is by coming to some kind of agreement with him." In fact, by the end of our second year of observations, most of the teachers who were identified as opponents of the principal had left the school, either because of U-ratings or transfers.

Evaluating the "success" of Mr. Sontag's policies is a touchy matter because value judgements and one's personal educational goals necessarily become involved. The consequences of these policies for the social organization of Sheridan, however, are matters that we can appropriately deal with in this discussion.

As means for gaining and maintaining control over a large organization, Mr. Sontag's policies were certainly successful, as we can see from the eventual disappearance of his opponents and from his reputation at the board for keeping order. The question of what was being achieved, in educational terms, by means of this control, is a more difficult question. His opponents would certainly charge that the costs in terms of social harmony were too great. Even one of his department chairman, a Mrs. Henderson of the science department, once expressed to us her dissatisfaction with the emphasis on the DLP. She began talking during lunch in the teacher's cafeteria about the DLP, saying, "You know, there's nothing wrong with the Developmental Lesson Plan, but it becomes awfully boring after a while. Some of these kids have literally had it in every class they have ever been in. I mean, day after day, year after year, it can get to be too much." Penny Ottman, the program coordinator and a close friend of Mrs. Henderson, joined in the discussion at this point. She pointed to a male teacher across the table and said, "This man is a very fine teacher, but he never uses the developmental lesson plan." The male teacher looked around quickly and then asked them please not to discuss it. Both Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Ottman were known as supporters of the principal, and Mrs. Henderson, as science chairman, dutifully conducted observations on the basis of the DLP. Privately, however, even the principal's supporters could be heard to doubt the value of insisting on the DLP. One question which can be asked about the cost of insisting on the DLP is the relation of that policy to the high cutting rate and the high absence rate among Sheridan students. Cutting and attendance are complex problems that certainly cannot be entirely attributed to one policy, but Mrs. Henderson's speculation about the boringness of following the same format day after day suggests a relation.

Mr. Sontag's instructional policies have had some beneficial and some dysfunctional effects. Even the principal's opponents will admit that Sheridan is a more orderly place since he arrived. The cutting and absence rates, on the other hand, have not dropped. The most noticeable adverse effect of his evaluation policies is the level of tension and feeling of powerlessness of teachers in their classrooms. The defensiveness of Sheridan teachers in their classrooms was very obvious to our observers as they visited classes. Before visiting any class, we would always ask the individual teacher's permission. We soon learned that we had to be very careful to explain our purposes and to disassociate ourselves explicitly from the principal's observations.

The evaluation of the performance of students in Sheridan was also carried out according to a set of objective standards, represented by grades and reading scores. We have already mentioned the effect on the school produced by the ruling from the central board requiring a reading score of 8.0 for graduation. This ruling resulted in nearly half of Sheridan's students being placed in special reading classes. The ruling also became a barrier keeping many Sheridan students from graduating. This problem was especially prevalent among immigrant Chinese and Hispanic students, many of whom had learned their subjects in their original language but still had difficulty reading in English. There had been several incidents in the reading programs in which Chinese students, who as a group were not considered rule-breakers, were suspected of and admitted to having obtained answer sheets for the reading exams. Reading scores thus became in many ways the most important indexes of student performance. They were the last requisite for graduation for many students and they definitely served as the most important single factor in determining a student's program.

Grades constituted the other important set of student performance standards. Sheridan has a special grading system which allows teachers and advisors to keep track of truants and cutters. Our observers spent several periods during end-of-the-term marking sessions watching the recording of grades. We noticed that the grades of 0, 30, 50, and 55 came up with great frequency. Upon inquiring, we were told that these numbers represented a definite system. A 0 represents a no-show, a student who never came or only once or twice. A 30 represents excessive cutting or absence. A 50 means that the student came often enough but did absolutely no work. A 55 indicates that the student could have passed with a little more work. The principal himself was heard to complain once that this system was being used laxly in some cases, that 30's and 50's were being assigned indiscriminately. One practical use of this system is as a guide to assigning students to special programs. Some of the programs are specifically designed for students with attendance problems in the regular curriculum. Thus, the distinction between a 30 and 50 can be meaningful to an advisor deciding whether or not to assign a particular student to one of these programs. Given the great importance of attendance for allocations, it is very important for the school to keep track of the attendance records of individual students. Separate attendance records are kept, of course, but this grading system serves as another way of keeping track.

The importance of the reading scores and the different significances of the failing grades suggests that the performance scores in Sheridan serve chiefly as indicators of minimal levels of performance. During our fieldwork, we asked several teachers about how they actually go about grading students, and we listened to many lunchroom conversations among teachers about individual students. Once, upon visiting a series of classes on the first day of the term,we heard every teacher specify to the class that a certain number of unexcused absences would result in an automatic failure. We later asked these teachers if they were in fact as strict as they had told their classes. Most of them told us no, that they started out being strict, but that, as the term wore on, they became considerably more flexible. A student could often get away with excessive absence if he turned in some kind of decent work or did well on tests. We also interviewed several bright students who told us that some, though not all teachers, would allow this tactic. Conversely, many teachers told us that if a student had good attendance and seemed to put out any effort, then the teacher would be very reluctant to fail the student.

These facts suggest that performance standards for Sheridan students as well as for Sheridan teachers are also used as means of social control. Insistence on the DLP through evaluations constrains teachers to conduct their classes in a certain way and also threatens them with possible reprisal should they speak out against the administration. Grades and reading scores serve to encourage attendance and also serve as justification for removing from the school, through various channels such as transfers to other schools and programs, those students who do not satisfy minimal performance standards.

During the first year of our field work, Mr. Sontag tried to establish a grading policy which would set different standards for students in different levels of course. The procedure he suggested was that a grade ceiling of 80 be established for students in the modified classes and some kind of corresponding grade floor be set for students in the academic classes. The justification offered for this proposed procedure was that it would eliminate the situation in which colleges were asked to consider a 100 in record-keeping as equivalent to a 100 in physics. Different diplomas had been given for different levels of curricula under the old tracking system, but only one diploma is given under the current system, and the lament of Mr. Sontag and others was that this situation represented another lowering of standards. By establishing the grade floors and ceilings, presumably, the school could continue to employ a set of minimal performance standards and could also employ another set of standards for college-bound students. The grade floors and ceilings, however, were never instituted because of the angry reaction of the faculty during the meeting at which this suggestion was introduced. One teacher rose to say, "You mean, the maximum grade I could give some kid who came everyday and did all the work would be 80? That's not fair. I would have an absolute riot on my hands." This meeting was the major exception during our fieldwork to the pattern described earlier of lack of direct influence of faculty meetings on school policy. The principal, as well as Mrs. Weissman, the Vice-Principal, continued to advocate this policy, but it was never adapted during our stay in Sheridan. For once, the Sheridan teachers were united and adamant in their opposition to the principal. Presumably, Mr. Sontag had the formal authority to institute such a system, but he decided in this case that the fight that would ensue would be too costly.

Other Rules and Enforcement Policies

We have now discussed two types of rules and their applications in Sheridan, those relating to the evaluation of performance and those relating to bureaucratic constraints from outside the school. In this section, we will examine the rules which relate chiefly to the maintenance of order inside the school building(s). It should be borne in mind that the strength of Mr. Sontag's position in Sheridan is based on the fact that he has successfully established his image in the eyes of the central board as one who brought order out of chaos. As we mentioned earlier, it is true that turmoil in high schools all over the city has declined since the 1960's. Mr. Sontag may be the beneficiary of that historical tendency to some degree, but he also established policies to tighten security and general social control in Sheridan. He spent much of his own time in the halls, maintaining high visibility and acting as a rule-enforcer towards both teachers and students. The size of Sheridan is such, that even though he spent much time in the halls, he was still unknown to many students and even to some newly arrived teachers. Most teachers, however, and many students knew the principal by sight and were familiar with his pet peeves. Students knew him as someone who asked them to remove their hats and to move in an orderly manner through the halls; e.g., not to cut and loiter. Teachers knew him as a stickler for the DLP (if he walked past their classrooms, even without entering, they knew him to look for the AIM written on the board) and as insisting on both front and back doors being locked during periods, no latecomers admitted. Virtually every class we observed had someone come in late, but woe to the teacher and student caught in the act.

The most striking set of rules relating to the maintenance of internal order were those requiring some kind of identification for entrance to and mobility within the building. Teachers all have time cards, which must be punched regularly. Occasionally, teachers were apprehended punching someone else's card and given severe warnings. One of Mr. Sontag's most adamant requirements was for strict accountability of teacher attendance. We have seen how crucial student attendance is for allocations to Sheridan. Mr. Sontag also justified his strictness about teacher attendance in the financial terms of extra costs for substitutes. The energy that he put into enforcing attendance of teachers, however, cannot readily be explained simply in financial terms and must be considered an idiosyncracy of Mr. Sontag's personality. He himself had scarcely missed a day of work in his lifetime in this school system and often set himself up as an example.

Teachers of all political stripes, supporters of the principal, opponents, neutrals, complained about what they considered to be harassment when they missed school. A routine day off for illness in many cases brought a suspicious phone call, a demand for doctor's certification of illness, or a harsh note in the teacher's mailbox. In one of his most severe rule enforcements, Mr. Sontag tried to institute criminal prosecution for fraud against one teacher who it was thought had faked two days illness some years before.

This last case was admittedly an extreme one and involves more factors than Mr. Sontag's mania for attendance. The teacher, Eileen Shea, was the best known and most outspoken critic of Mr. Sontag in the school. Further, she had taught in the system for many years and was widely respected as a teacher both in Sheridan and in other places throughout the city. She was thus an unlikely target for a U-rating, and perhaps Mr. Sontag was manipulating another bureaucratic structure in his personal struggle with Mrs. Shea. The fact that the offense in question involved attendance, however, was altogether typical of Mr. Sontag's policies on the issue of teacher attendance.

Teachers only have to punch their time cards twice a day, but students in Sheridan all carry cards which they must produce at any time of day that they are requested to do so by almost any adult in the school. These cards are called program cards, and they have listed on them each student's daily schedule. Any student can thereby be checked at any moment to see if he/she is where he/she is supposed to be. Program cards are required for entrance to the building and to the student cafeteria.

Program cards were only initiated a few years ago, but by the time we began research, they had become the chief means of control of the flow of students throughout the school. There are many students who come to Sheridan each day and who do not attend some or all of their classes. Instead, they cut and "hang out" in one of the many convenient spaces provided by the architecture of the buildings. The main building has five stories and numerous up-and-down double-helix staircases, one at each corner of the giant capital E (the building is in the shape of a capital E). The staircases are ideal spaces for loitering, since they are empty during class periods; empty, that is except for the steady circulation of cutters and adults patrolling for cutters. Other spaces where students cutting class can congregate are the cafeteria (though some strategem must be employed to get pass the door without the proper designation on the program card), the hallways, (a very exposed area, ususally moved through quickly on the way back and forth between the stairways), and the many offices throughout the school, where students often congregate with the tacit consent of the adults working in those offices. On days when the weather is decent, students cluster on the sidewalks outside the building, usually in ethnically differentiated groups, each with its own turf. Students hanging out outside the building often attempt to get past the security personnel at the front in order to enter the building either before or after the proper time, as designated on their program cards.

There exists a special security staff in Sheridan for dealing with the cutting problem. This staff numbers 28 in total, though not all are on duty at one time. Most of the security staff are called aides and perform other duties besides policing the halls. The aides for the most part are only a few years older than the students and are of similar ethnic proportions, unlike the aggregate of teachers which is overwhelmingly white and Jewish. The aides come also for the most part from the local neighborhood and often know students from outside the school, so that the bureaucratic relationship between aides and students of rule-breaker and rule-enforcer is often mediated by the organic relationships of co-residence and co-ethnicity. The aides are constantly patrolling the halls and stairs and are constantly demanding program cards of loiterers, sometimes taking them to the dean, but more often simply clearing them out of the illicit spaces which they occupy. Often, the students who are so cleared out just move around the building to a new space, thus creating the steady circulation.

We saw in Sheffield that the bureaucratic measure of the "hot list", designed to control rule-breaking students, did not work because it required too much paperwork and was too abstract to work amidst the pressures and bustle of daily life in the school. A more effective means of control in Sheffield was the organic means made possible by the small size of the school. As one Sheffield teacher told us, cutters are obvious because a teacher can know his students well enough and cover the space in the school well enough to spot someone who had been missing from his/her class. Sheridan is so large and complex that teachers and students often do not know each others' names in class, much less out in the teeming halls. The resulting impersonality makes possible much of the cutting and loitering that go on. For the most part, adults, both aides and teachers, do not want to go to the trouble of prosecuting every cutter they see. One could easily spend all day doing this and not really clear the halls and stairs. Rather, adults usually try to keep clear only that physical area for which they feel immediately responsible, such as a classroom and the hall immediately outside it. Cutting students can thus often avoid apprehension if they keep moving when they see an adult coming toward them. When adults do apprehend cutters, however, the program card makes it possible to immediately ascertain where the student is supposed to be. Each student, then carries with him/her at all times a document specifying the particular responsibilities she/he has that have been bureaucratically assigned.

The program card is thus a strict and effective measure for bureaucratically controlling a large and somewhat recalcitrant student population. Sheridan also goes through several bureaucratic procedures for social control which are more reminiscent of Sheffield's "hot list" in being too abstract and paperbound to be effective. Many of these measures are devised by Mr. Drucker, the Vice-Principal for Administration.

Mr. Drucker supervises the security personnel and oversees the enforcement of a host of detailed regulations affecting students, teachers, and support staff. Mr. Drucker is also in charge of the preparation and distribution of the many circulars which are placed in the teachers' letterboxes. His masterpiece is the bi-weekly calendar which lists everything from bell schedules and special events to periodic instructions on the proper attitude of a teacher to his/her class to detailed procedures for record-keeping. Interspersed throughout these calendars in an almost random way are such things as reminders to teachers about a particular rule, almost as if to say, "This week we have a special policy of cutting down on eating in the classroom. Next week, we will feature textbook inspection."

The following excerpt from the bi-weekly calendar represents one of Mr. Drucker's solutions to the cutting problem:

> "Thursday -- May 23
>
> 1. Monthly Survey of Subject Class Attendance of Official Class Cutters will be distributed on Thursday. All teachers are asked to submit this report to my office promptly by the close of the school day of FRIDAY, May 24, so that the school-wide report may be sent to the Board."

The problem being addressed in this item requires some further explanation of the cutting strategies of Sheridan students. Students find that it is better for them to attend their Official Classes, the homerooms where official attendance for the day is taken, and then cut their subject classes, than it is for them to cut the Official Classes and be counted absent for the Records of the whole day. Attendance in the subject classes are kept only by the subject class teachers. As we have mentioned, the consequences of these records are flexible and manipulable. A student who does well on tests can often get away with repeated cuts. Mr. Drucker's survey is designed to reconcile the Official Class attendance records with the subject class records and flush out cutters in this way. In practice, however, this procedure has little effect because teachers will not admit that they are not reporting cuts. This situation is an example of the functional autonomy that the teacher has in the classroom. The threat of an observer coming into the Sheridan classroom reduces that functional autonomy to less than in other schools, such as Green Valley and Sheffield, in which classroom observations are not emphasized, but a certain degree of functional autonomy remains. Mr. Drucker has the authority to require the cutting survey, but he does not have the power or the resources for enforcement to make it work.

Some bureaucratic measures for social control in Sheridan, such as program cards, seem effective while others, such as the cutting survey, are not. There also occur periods of time in Sheridan in which the enforcement of any rule is difficult. One such period which we have already mentioned is the first week of the term when students are switching classes in such numbers that many teachers feel that little can be accomplished in class until the confusion dies down. Another such period is the almost month-long interim between the time that grades must be in and the time that classes are over. The importance of grades as mechanisms of social control by teachers over students in the classroom becomes manifest at this time. Despite the repeated warnings of teachers that they can still change the grades, many students correctly interpret this as a bluff. Cutting goes up sharply and turmoil inside the classroom increases considerably. Given the number of students, record-keeping takes that much time, and the bureaucratic expertise in the school is such that records are kept fastidiously, but instruction, at least the kind of instruction Mr. Sontag insists upon, suffers.

The overall picture which emerges of rules and rule enforcements in Sheridan is one in which there is much emphasis on many rules and regulations in an attempt to control a large population. Many individual violations occur every day, but control of the school is definitely in the hands of the administration. We should mention that, although there is still much loitering and there are some rather wild classes, the general atmosphere is Sheridan's main building is more docile than turbulent. There are occasional incidents between students and aides or among groups of students in the cafeteria, but there is on the whole very little violence in the school. The main building is often very quiet during class periods.

One final rule we must mention is that prohibiting the wearing of hats. This trivial rule had a great effect on attitudes in the school towards the school principal, because Mr. Sontag insisted upon this rule and upon no other rule concerning dress. He enforced the rule impartially, in the sense that he reprimanded any male wearing a hat in the building, but the fact is that only black male students wore hats to school. Thus, the rule was perceived as discriminatory by students and by teachers. Most teachers made little effort to enforce the rule, unless they thought the principal might be in the vicinity.

We have not gone into detail about the strategies used by Sheridan students and teachers to deal with rules, but many such strategies do exist. As in Sheffield, rules are manipulated against rules, and personal relationships between rule-breakers and rule-enforcers often override rule enforcement. We met one boy, for example, who beat the program card system by obtaining six different program cards. He filled out each one differently and created a general passport for himself throughout the school. Several students who worked in the offices developed relationships with the adults in those offices which allowed them to sit in those offices whenever they wished. Teachers were known to punch each others' time cards and to hand in each others' tear-offs (tear-offs must be signed and turned in at faculty meetings to show attendance). At the administrative level, Mr. Sontag's institution of the three-name rule for the selection of club advisors is an example of manipulating one rule against another. The point we are trying to make about all rules is that, although written rules may be fair and impersonal in an ideal-type conception of bureaucracy, in practice rules are never absolute, and thus never completely fair and impersonal. Rules are subject to manipulations and varying interpretations by all parties involved. Sheridan is a very rule-oriented institution. Under the present administration, the formation and enforcement of rules is very much under the control of the principal, and rules serve as an effective means of social control. The use of rules in Sheridan for the furtherance of purely educational goals, however, is less apparent.

Bureaucratic and Organic Influences on Sorting

Two characteristics of the sorting process in Sheridan stand out in comparison to Sheffield and Green Valley: (1) the proportion of bureaucratic influences is much greater, and (2) the organic influences on sorting derive from ethnicity primarily, rather than from residence, as in Green Valley, or from ideological separations, as in Sheffield.

An overview of the way that friendship groups among Sheridan students are formed is presented in these notes of a conversation between one of our observers and a black male student named Harvey:

> "Harvey said, 'You get your associates at school from the neighborhoods.' For instance, many of his friends come from Stuyvesant town where he lives. The other kids who were sitting at lunch with him came from the same project. He said that the reason he became friends with them is that he saw them in band and then in classes, and, when, they happened to hit on a lunch period together, that was how they became friends. He said that the only integrated classes he had were lunch and PE."

The organic factor that we notice first here is that, in this case, Harvey knew some of his friends from his neighborhood. The other component of his friendship group, the boys from the housing project, was bureaucratically generated. He would not have become friends with them had he not been thrown together with them by the scheduling process.

In talking with many students and conducting a few experiments such as asking selected students to write out lists of their friends and how they got to know them, we concluded that the bureaucratic factor of being scheduled together was far more important than the organic factor of having actually established a previous relationship outside the school. Sheridan students usually know someone in the school from their neighborhoods, but, unless they are scheduled together, they may never encounter each other inside the school. One white girl who had recently transferred to Sheridan told us of her bewilderment in trying to get to know people. She said,

> "I went into class the first day, and I wanted to get to know everybody's name. I didn't realize at that time that you didn't have class with the same people all the time. It changes every five minutes who you're in a room with. You never get to stay with anybody long enough to get to know their names."

This girl was of course exaggerating. It changes every forty minutes, not every five, but a student may well see different people in very class.

To return to Harvey's group, we see that, although proximity of residence outside the school accounted for part of the formation of this group, and bureaucratic scheduling accounted for much of it, there is another organic factor which unites this group. These students are all black males. There is some process at work here which converts the ethnic category of black people into actual, operant groups, after they have entered the school. It is important to realize that sorting along ethnic lines in Sheridan occurs as much inside the school as it does as a result of previous acquaintance outside the school. Some students associate in the school who were previously friends in their neighborhoods, but only if they have similiar schedules. As we mentioned earlier, however, the programming process itself produces a resegregation effect by placing black and Hispanic students in one set of classes and white and Chinese students in another. Sorting along ethnic lines cannot be entirely attributed to the programming process, however, since there are many mixed classes and students associate along ethnic lines even in integrated classrooms. There is thus some overlap between bureaucratic and organic influences on sorting, inasmuch as the programming process often serves to divide ethnic groups of students. The ethnic sorting process also goes on independently of the bureaucratic overlap.

There are also exceptions to this general pattern of sorting along ethnic lines. There are some groups of students in Sheridan who associate inter-ethnically. These groups tend to be held together by two kinds of bonds. First, these students are often those who have grown up in the neighborhood near the school. This neighborhood has been receiving successive waves of immigration for many decades and is a poly-ethnic neighborhood. Many of the students who grew up in this neighborhood have always associated inter-ethnically. A large proportion of Sheridan students also come from outside this neighborhood, from uptown neighborhoods more characterized by a single ethnicity. These students are more likely to associate intra-ethnically. The second factor which holds the inter-ethnic groups together is usually some type of common activity. The SO executive council is one example. The members of the SO council include members of all ethnicities. They have good grades in common as well as the activities of the council. Another inter-ethnic group is the drama group. The spring play during our second year of research put on a play in which a family was portrayed. In this production, the mother was white, the daughter black, the son Puerto Rican, and the father Chinese. Both these groups were formally organized within the school, but more informal inter-ethnic groupings were also observable. Within one science class which we observed on several occasions, a group of black, white, and Hispanic boys clustered in the rear of the room before each period to discuss the latest exploits of the New York Knicks. Basketball was popular throughout the school, and the Knicks often served as a topic which could unify members of different ethnic groups (usually male) in conversation.

Nevertheless, the primary influence of sorting among students was ethnicity. One of the ways in which we observed the consequences of sorting was in our examination of the processes of territoriality in and around Sheridan. Outside the school, for example, the turfs of each ethnic group were clearly visible. Inside the school, ethnic sorting was visible in the membership of most of the athletic teams and clubs. Many of the clubs were so-called "culture clubs," an old tradition in the school. The German, Russian, and Jewish culture clubs which had existed traditionally were nearly defunct, but the Chinese Culture Club and Hispanic organization (with branches all over the city) were both very active. During our research, the staffs of the yearbook and other publications were largely taken over by Chinese students. The Math Team was predominantly Chinese. The boys and girls basketball teams were predominantly black, the soccer team predominantly Hispanic, the girls tennis team white, the boys swimming team Chinese, and the girls track team black. Since all these activities are elected by students rather than assigned to them, we see that the ethnic sorting here is accomplished by the students themselves.

We must consider one final bureaucratic influence on sorting, and that is the impact of the many special programs and curricula on sorting behavior. We have seen at the administrative level how possibilities for new resources for the school are often tied to the creation or acceptance of new programs. There are many such programs in existence now, and, for reasons we have just cited, the number seems likely to increase. Although each program has a distinct purpose, the aggregate effect of all these programs is a tendency to undercut the bureaucratic impersonality and vastness of Sheridan and to create organic islands of activity in the midst of the sea of the regular curriculum. Two programs leading to an alternative high school diploma (which does not have "Sheridan" written on it) are administered through Sheridan but are housed in separate locations. In these programs, small groups of students work with teachers in a much more informal atmosphere than that in the main building. Inside the main building itself there exists a special program for "underachievers" and a co-op program alternating periods of work outside the school with classes in the school. The students in these programs are thrown together frequently in the special classes and activities that are part of the program. Immigrant children are often thrown together in the English-as-a-Second-Language classes and the bilingual classes. Some of these classes are predominantly oriental, some predominantly Hispanic. The Spanish and Chinese foreign language classes often have a noticeable kind of organic unity not present in other classes, since both students and teachers in these classes share a culture and language that sets them apart from the rest of the school. The Chinese classes are particularly remarkable in this respect, as Chinese students are known to be very quiet and aloof in regular classes but are much more interactive and talkative among themselves and with Chinese teachers.

We have concluded that the size and impersonality of Sheridan create a strong pressure for people to divide themselves into more manageable groups, in which individuals can operate from day- to-day on a more personal, less rule-oriented basis. This pressure combines with the bureaucratic pressures on the administration to create more special programs to break down the masses into smaller groups, which can operate more organically. In many cases, this breakdown coincides with ethnic sorting patterns, as in the language-oriented programs. A recent ruling in New York City mandating bilingual classes for all students who need them may serve to further this tendency, although the mandate has not been implemented so far due to lack of funds.

Sorting among teachers in Sheridan is influenced by ethnicity, departmental affiliation, age, and political considerations. Teachers in the same department tend to associate because they work and meet together and because they share certain spaces, such as classrooms and the departmental offices. Often, teachers group with others of the same general age in their department, although there are many exceptions to this. The politically radical teachers formed a definite network, as did those supporters of the principal sometimes referred to as "the friends of Irwin Sontag." Ethnicity as an influence on teacher sorting served mainly to reinforce the bureaucratic separation of teachers from students. Sheridan teachers are overwhelmingly Jewish, although "Jewishness" represented a more influential set of norms for some than it did for others. For example, some Jewish teachers steadfastly refused to join the largely honorary organization called the Jewish Teachers Association. The small minorities of Hispanic and Chinese teachers did associate, though the few black teachers did not.

The category of Jewishness also served to reinforce the bureaucratically sorted group of administrators. These people were also predominantly Jewish, and their solidarity as co-ethnics and co-administrators is affirmed each year at administrative conventions held in the various Catskills resorts, although the rise in the number of non-Jewish administrators since decentralization may alter this. Administrators in Sheridan, as elsewhere throughout the city, usually know each other from having come up through the system together. Mr. Sontag and Mrs. Weissman, for example, had worked together at another high school before coming to Sheridan.

Conclusions

We have now examined patterns of rule formation and enforcement, sorting behavior and group formation, and formal and informal patterns of power and influence in three high schools. In Unit II, entitled "Formal and Emergent Roles" we will shift our perspective from that of the school organization as a whole to that of the roles played by individuals in organizational life. By considering both formal and emergent roles, we will take a dual approach similiar to the dual approach of looking at both bureaucratic and organic forms of organization employed in this first unit. Our analysis of everyday reality will take into consideration both the formally specified activities performed by school people as well as the special roles that come into being for dealing with contingencies that are not accounted for by formally specified roles.

UNIT TWO

FORMAL AND EMERGENT ROLES

Introduction

In Unit I, Bureaucratic and Organic Structures, the operations of three high schools were examined from the macro-level perspective of the entire school organization. Two broad types of organization, bureaucratic and organic, and the ways in which these types of organizations co-exist and interact in everyday activities were examined and analyzed. The kinds of questions posed in Unit I were those on the order of "How does this school work? What are the systems which operate to organize all of these people into all these different kinds of activities?" We were looking at schools and taking whole schools as the unit of analysis in our endeavor.

In the current Unit, #II, entitled Formal and Emergent Roles, we are going to take as our unit of analysis the roles which individuals play in school organizations. The kinds of questions we will ask are of this order, "What kinds of things are various individuals expected to do in a school by virtue of their positions in the school? How do these expected patterns of behavior (that is, roles) contribute to the overall functioning of the school organization? How much latitude does an individual have in defining his/her own role, and what are the sources of the constraints on role definitions? And, finally, how do the roles found in a school change in response to the changing needs and problems of a school organization?"

In order to get at these questions more closely, we must consider the relationships of the sociological concepts of "status" and "role" and, afterwards, the relative meanings of the concepts of "formal role" and "emergent role."

Before establishing definitions for ourselves, however, it would be well to point out that all of these words are much used in the social sciences, and, inevitably, different writers often use them in different ways. Rather than trying to summarize and synthesize all these different meanings, however, it will be more useful for us to establish a simple and useful set of meanings which will embody the main traditions with regard to the use of these words and will then provide us a set of tools for understanding how people in schools learn and decide how they should act and what they expect in the behavior of others.

The difference between "status" and "role" corresponds pretty closely to the difference, dwelt on at length in Unit I, between a formal organization chart and the actual day-to-day activities of an organization. The various positions on the formal organization chart are in fact statuses. The word "position" can be and is often used as a synonym for the word "status." The most often found statuses in schools are those designated principal, teacher, student, custodian, guidance counselor, and so on. There are also other statuses to be found operating in schools which have reference to the larger society rather than directly to the school organization. These statuses include those of "adult," "United States citizen," and "Italo-American." For the most part in this unit, however, the statuses we are interested in are those outlined in the formal organization chart of the school.

People who claim various statuses do so because they are members of one of a group of mutually exclusive categories, e.g. adults and minors or teachers, students, administrators, and support staff. Recall the difference, mentioned in the Introduction to Unit I, between category and group. Members of a category may or may not participate in some kind of activity together. If they do, then we say that the members of this category comprise a group. That category has, as it were, been activated into social action. Whether someone is a member of a category can be decided simply on the basis of a few clearly defined criteria. Deciding whether a collection of people is a group, however, requires empirical observation of their behavior to see if they associate together.

The difference between status and role on the level of the individual is very similar to the difference between category and group on the level of a collection of people. An individual who is a member of a category has a status by virtue of that membership. What that individual actually does in relation to that status constitutes his roles. A status is a position. A role is a set of behavior associated with that position. A given individual's status in a school organization can be rather quickly established. His role, or roles, within the organization can only be established by empirical observation of his behavior. One of the aims of this unit is to provide a comparative analysis of what roles are associated with the similar configurations of statuses found in three high schools. Each high school, for example, has a principal, but the three principals have different sets of roles in their respective organizations.

Notice that we have been speaking as if one status can be associated with many different roles. This is a basic concept in role theory which is usually referred to as the role-set. A role-set is comprised of all the roles which are associated with a given status. A well known example is the relationship of the status of "teacher" to the various roles a teacher performs, including instruction of students, keeping order among students, keeping school records and so on. A role, then, is a specific pattern of behavior, a way of doing things.

Another concept basic to role theory is that of the expectations that are associated with roles. People are able to work together efficiently only when they know what to expect of each other. If the role of one individual is a patterned way he/she has of doing things, then another person is able to work with him/her because the other knows, roughly at least, what to expect of him/her. When a person arrives in a new setting, such as a new school, for example, he/she learns to get along in that setting by (a) learning what to expect of the other people with whom he/she interacts and (b) learning what the socially acceptable ways are for him/her to act in this new place. Thus, we find that roles are complementary sets of expectations, mutually defining the ways in which people interact. Complementary roles in schools might include teacher/learner, rule-enforcer/rule-breaker, policy-maker/policy-implementer. Because of this interactive aspect of role definition, we will present in our case material, whenever possible, both the incumbent's conception of his/her role(s) and the views of others of that person's roles(s).

Some of the behavior associated with and expected of the members of various statuses in schools is explicitly formulated in both documents and tradition. Where formal job descriptions exist, for example, they make explicit many of the roles a teacher is to perform. As we examined in detail in the previous unit, however, the actual operations of school organizations are far too complex to be clearly specified on paper. Thus, in our analysis of these three schools we have found it necessary to distinguish between formal roles and emergent roles. Formal roles are those which are explicitly and publicly recognized by people in the organization and which are clearly related to the manifest goal of the organization, which, in the case of schools, is education of children and adolescents. Emergent roles are those which are not formally specified and which arise in response to the changing needs and problems of the school organization.

In this unit, we will perform a comparative analysis of the roles in three high schools in the following manner:

1. Since the statuses found in all three schools are for the most part constant (administrators, teachers, students, support staff), we will hold the status structure constant and see what different roles are associated with each status in each school.

2. The first way of determining the similarities and differences among the schools will be to see which formal roles associated with a given status in a particular school are emphasized in that school and which are de-emphasized.

3. The second basis of comparison will be the analysis and comparison of the emergent roles associated with each status in each school.

In order to give a clear example of the relationships among the concepts of the individual person, his/her status, the formal roles associated with that status, and any emergent roles the person performs, we will begin the presentation of the case material with the detailed analysis of a single event, a faculty conference in the urban school. First we will present our fieldworker's edited account of his observations at the meeting. Next, we will analyze the meeting in terms of the various statuses and roles that can be seen in interaction, while substantiating our analysis by bringing in the other pertinent information we have collected about the various participants and processes represented at the meeting. It should be understood that the names we give for emergent roles (such as "ritual specialist" or "mediator") are not terms generally used by the actors themselves. Rather, they are symbols we have created for describing patterns of behavior that we observed which were not explainable in terms of formally defined roles. Finally, we will compile in a chart the relationships of the people to their statuses to their formal roles to their emergent roles.

In this manner, the meeting comes to be seen as a microcosm of many of the operations of the entire school. This technique, called event analysis, is one formulated by anthropologists in response to the problem of how to get from raw observational data to valid conclusions. We hope that you will see in this example some of the procedures we have followed in bridging the methodological gap between observing and understanding. Those who have used this particular technique have found that it is most suitable when applied to large public gatherings, especially when the gatherings have some ritual purpose. In such settings, people are often physically arranged according to their status and role, thus presenting the eager social scientist with a geographical representation of the conceptual scheme in his/her mind. The arrangement of people in this faculty meeting is to some extent determined by organization status and role. This and other characteristics of the meeting have led us to conclude that the meeting can aptly be characterized as a school ritual.

Before proceeding to the event analysis, however, grant us a final word concerning the conceptual relationship of this unit to the preceding and ensuing units (*Bureaucratic and Organic Structures* and *Sorting, Territoriality, and Autonomy*, respectively). The unit of analysis in the first section is the whole school organization. The units of analysis in the second section are the generalized patterns of behavior and expectations which we call roles. The movement from structure, or form of organization, to roles is a descending movement from a higher level of analysis to a lower one, a whole school being a larger unit than one role of even set of roles within the school. In the final section the level of analysis will be still smaller and will correspond most closely to reality, that is, to the actual behavior of living people. The unit of analysis in the final section will be the strategy of the individual as he/she copes with, responds to, and attempts to manipulate the various constraints on his/her individual action which result from the school's patterns of organization and the generalized role expectations which exist in the organization.

There is but a fine line between the concepts of "emergent role" and "individual strategy." If formal roles are those patterns of behavior that occur so commonly that they are explicitly and publicly recognized, then emergent roles are those roles which have arisen in response to more specific situations. Emergent roles are still patterns of behavior and expectations, but the actions of individuals are never completely determined by established patterns, even if we say that the individual him/herself has established that pattern, as we might say with reference to an emergent role. Thus, when we deal with individual strategy, we are dealing with the unique reactions of unique individuals to unique situations.

Now, on to the event analysis.

Event Analysis

We will begin by presenting an observation of a faculty conference on slow learners which took place at the urban school, Sheridan. The observations of the fieldworker will appear in double parentheses in order to clearly separate the actual actions and events of the meeting from the opinions of the researcher. Also in double parentheses will be any explanatory data needed to acquaint the reader with the context of the situation. Following the account, we will analyze the conference from the point of view of the roles people at the meeting play in the hopes that the reader will begin to understand how the researcher has arrived at certain conclusions and speculations based on the data collected. For the sake of easier reading, paraphrased quotes will be put in direct quotation marks, so that the flavor of the interactions can come through. This technique will be used throughout, except where taped interviews (told from the point of view of the fieldworker) supplement the raw data.

The Story

Date: February 25, 1974

Time: Following the 8th period of the day

Place: Room 318, Sheridan High School

At the end of 8th period, I went to room 318, where the first of the faculty conferences scheduled for today was to take place. I took a seat in the back of the large lecture room. Bob Silliman ((accounting teacher)) came in with Paul DiAngelo, the industrial arts teacher, and they took seats in the back row. I joked with them about how teachers act just like students in situations like this, grabbing the seats in the back room and so on. Bob nodded his head in agreement and said, "Yeah, I usually sit next to the aisle so I can get out fast" ((Paraphrased)). Bob then became very concerned with saving seats for "the girls". He had me move down so that we contained two empty seats between us in the back row. The earth science teacher, John Turner, a heavy set man with a beard, stepped over the back seat into our row. Bob explained that he was saving those seats, so John jumped over another row. Stuart Caslow, the chairman of the Social Studies Department, was walking around at the front of the room where there were a number of steel drums and he kicked one of them. I involuntarily clapped a couple of times and some of the other teachers took it up, so that it became a round of applause. Somebody called out, "Encore, encore." Stuart Caslow just stood at the front of the room looking slightly nonplussed.

There was a knock at the back door of the room. ((The door was locked as soon as the conference began. The principal, Irwin Sontag, has a policy of keeping the halls clear of students, and his method is to have both front and back doors of classrooms, meeting rooms, and the auditorium locked.)) A teacher got up and admitted another teacher, Maggie Corwin, and a woman I had never met. These were "the girls" Bob had been waiting for. Bob showed them the seats that he had saved and introduced the other woman to me as Paula. Maggie asked Dave why he was not sitting next to the aisle, and then asked me what I was doing. I made another comment to her about teachers acting like students. She pointed out the fact that the back door had been locked and she had had to knock to get in, just as students do at the beginning of classes.

The meeting was a panel discussion on slow learners. Mark Rabin, chairman of the English Department, was the moderator. Milton Drucker, the Assistant Principal for Administration, and Bill Lowry, the UFT representative, were sitting on the stage off to the left of the speakers table. The panel members were seated on stage. Bill Lowry was seated between Mark Rabin and the rest of the teachers. Next to Lowry was Mrs. Wallerstein, an English teacher from the annex (where the ninth grade is located); then Dr. Margaret Rossini, an English teacher, and Stuart Caslow, the Social Studies Chairman.

Mr. Drucker then got up and began the meeting with an announcement about faculty personnel cards. Someone else was handing out the circulars which I had gotten a copy of earlier which listed the agenda for the meeting and the panelists for the various groups. The bottom half of the circular was a tear-off which read "Dear Mr. Sontag, I was present at the faculty conference on Monday, Tuesday, February 25th, 26th, 1974." ((Sheridan's large faculty necessitates three sessions of faculty conferences)) The agenda printed on the circular was divided into two topics under the general heading "Teaching the Slow Learner". Item #1 addressed the question of what the characteristics of the slow learner are, listing a set of eleven possible traits, lettered "a" through "k", and including poor reading scores and inability to formulate abstractions. Item #2 asked what techniques are useful in meeting the learning problems posed by slow learners.

At about this time, there was another knock at the back door, and a woman teacher came in along with Edith Weissman, the Assistant Principal in charge of Pupil Personnel Services. ((Researcher notes that Edith's role as administrator makes it all right that she has come late, as it is presumed that she has been tied up in her office with important administrative business)). Edith Weissman sat along the side of the room, apart from everyone else, who was sitting in rows. Next to Edith Weissman, also sitting along the side, is Catherine Colgate, an English teacher.

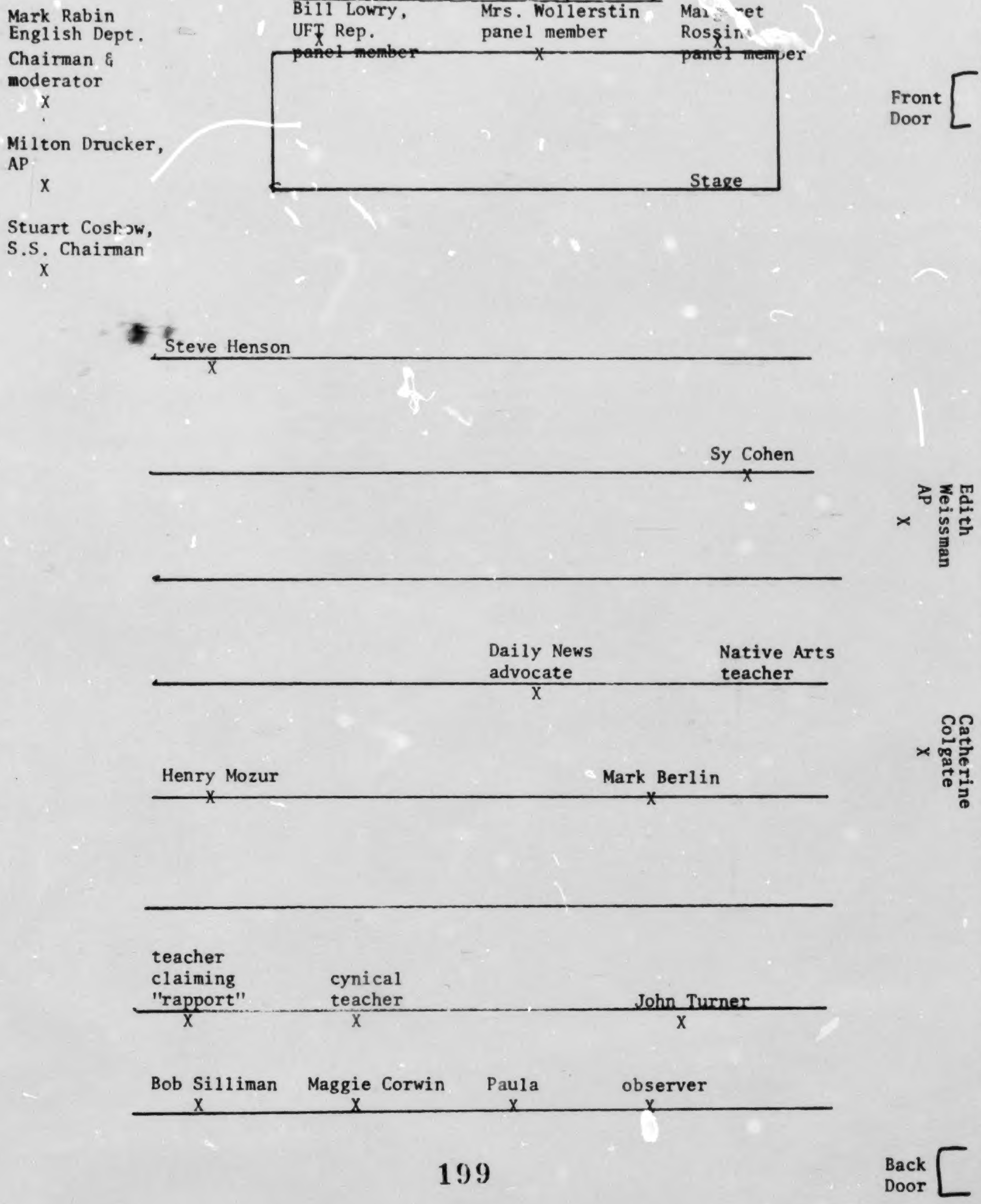
((See accompanying diagram))

Mark Rabin stood up first and announced that this was a meeting about slow learners. He said, "Well, I'm no better qualified to talk about the slow learner than any of you." ((Paraphrased)) He then invited the people in the seats to speak up and contribute their own experiences.

(While Mark Rabin was talking, I looked around. I noticed a number of teachers filling out various kinds of cards. I noticed Saul Bernstein working in his delaney book. There was a good deal of whispering and note passing. Everyone in the room was filling out his tear-off.)

Mark Rabin continued with his introductory remarks, making a few general statements about the slow learner. He said, "Be kind to the slow learner. Do not feel obliged to use the developmental lesson plan. Whatever works is what you want to do. There is one thing about the developmental plan that is useful, however, and that is the motivation. That's

Diagram of Sheridan Faculty Meeting


Mark Rabin
English Dept.
Chairman & moderator
Bill Lowry, UFT Rep. panel member
Mrs. Wollerstin panel member
Margaret Rossin panel member
Front Door
Milton Drucker, AP
Stage
Stuart Coshow, S.S. Chairman
Steve Henson
Sy Cohen
Edith Weissman AP
Daily News advocate
Native Arts teacher
Catherine Colgate
Henry Mozur
Mark Berlin
teacher claiming "rapport"
cynical teacher
John Turner
Bob Silliman
Maggie Corwin
Paula
observer
Back Door

really good. These students are not articulate. They can't handle abstractions." ((Paraphrased)) He suggested that the teachers use various devices such as pictures and games to motivate the students. He said that these students are terrified, and the teacher has to act as an ice breaker. "You have to depend on the expansiveness of your own personality. Be concrete." He related that he had seen Margaret Rossini teach slow learners as difficult a principle as dangling modifiers, but said that she had then begun to put them through exercises where they could see concrete applications of the principle. He said that this had worked. Mark Rabin concluded by telling the audience to be consistent. "If you tell them to bring a pencil, make sure you have one." He said, "They look up to you even when they express hostility."

The first panelist to speak was Mrs. Wallerstein, a young woman with curly hair who teaches English in the annex. When Mark Rabin introduced her as being from the annex, someone made a wisecrack, "Is that a slower school?" Mark Rabin said, "Yes, thank you." ((That is not the case. The annex merely houses the ninth grade)) Mrs. Wallerstein stood up and, after modestly apologizing for how everyone else there probably knows more than she on the subject, began to talk about a number of specific little techniques for teaching slow learners. She was talking about using some activity to begin the class when the bell for the beginning or the end of p.m. officially sounded. When the bell sounded, she turned around and looked questioningly at Mark Rabin, but he nodded for her to go on.

(At this point, Millie Gotbaum, the Student Activities Coordinator, knocked and was admitted).

Mrs. Wallerstein said that she has a bright class in the annex this year, and that she wouldn't pretend that she preferred teaching slow learners. She didn't.

(While she was talking, a note was passed from one end of the row in front of me to the other. There was a conversational buzz in the back of the room which made it somewhat difficult to hear her.)

One of her last comments concerned a method for increasing attendance. She said you can increase it up to 100% simply by asking the students where they were yesterday and asking them every time they're not there. They'll come. They really will. ((There was a hint of sarcastic laughter from the room at this point.))

Mark Rabin then got up and introduced Margaret Rossini as a former college teacher who had been at Sheridan now for one term and one month. He explained that she was a new member of the staff and was new to high school teaching, but he thought that she would have some interesting comments. ((Rossini has a doctorate)).

Margaret Rossini began her remarks by saying that not all five level students ((the classification for slow learners)) are really slow learners. She said that they get into five level classes for various reasons. She didn't know what all those reasons were, but that generally these students were people who considered themselves losers in the academic world for one reason or another. She mentioned behavior problems as something that could cause a student to be classified into the five classes.

She said one necessity for teaching slow learners was the structure of the content, that it should be broken down into small groups and built up gradually. Secondly, she said ((emphatically)) that you must encourage the kids to speak up in class and to participate and interact. She said she did recognize the problem of abstraction which is listed on the agenda and which Mark Rabin had already mentioned. (As she was talking, a truck outside made a great clatter so that I missed a couple of sentences.) When I could hear her again, she was saying, "Give them a lot of praise--they really need it."

I looked over to the side of the room and noticed Catherine Colgate dozing off. She was sitting at the side of the room, not in one of the lecture seats. Edith Weissman, the Assistant Principal, was sitting next to her with her glasses up on her forehead and holding her eyes.

After Margaret Rossini had concluded her presentation, Mark Rabin said, "The note from Milton Drucker says we should throw it open here for your comments so that you don't have to listen to the panelists one after the other."

Arthur Hoffman, the grade advisor and treasurer of the union chapter, was the first to speak. He said that teachers underestimate their impact on students and told a story of a student who had gotten very depresssd because he had gotten a low grade on a test. Only the student had been upset not about the low grade itself, but about the fact that his wrong answers had been circled in red ink in big circles. Another teacher, a woman, got up after him and told a similar story of a student who had been really emotionally affected by the way a teacher had graded his paper and that the student's emotions had been a response not to the grade itself, but to the comments on the paper.

The next person to speak was Edith Weissman. She said she was concerned about Dr. Rossini's implications that students were put in slow classes for behavior reasons. She said that that sort of thing was absolutely not done. She said, "If you know of a student who is in a five level class because of his behavior, please notify us immediately."

Mark Berlin, a math teacher, stood up and asked if this meeting were supposed to be about slow learners or students in slow tracks. Marvin Roth, teacher of Social Studies, spoke up from the back of the room and said that there are students in slow classes who are coasting, who are capable of being in higher level classes, but find it to their advantage to be in the lower level classes.

Edith Weissman stood back up and said that she was glad that someone had mentioned that and reminded the meeting of a suggestion that once had been made that a ceiling be placed on the grades that could be given to the slow classes. She reminded them that they had rejected this suggestion and asked if perhaps they would like to reconsider. She also said, "I would like to point out that people keep referring to tracks, but in fact there are no more tracks in the high school."

The panelist, Mrs. Wallerstein, got up and protested against the idea of putting a ceiling on lower track classes saying ((and I believe she used the word "tracks" too)) that it was not fair to try to get a student to perform his best and not give him a good grade when he did well.

Mark Berlin got up again and generally advocated this grade ceiling. Henry Mazur, a Social Studies teacher, said, "I can understand a slow student wanting to be with the smarter students. It has more prestige and so on. But I don't understand why a student would want to be in a slower class. There's a very peculiar thing here which we have to get at." Catherine Colgate, the dozing English teacher, woke up at this point to tell the story of a girl who had been in a slower class and definitely preferred it because she could be smarter than everyone else--the star of the class.

Mark Rabin spoke up here and said that the meeting was straying from its assigned topic; that in fact, today's meeting had been called not to discuss the under-achiever, but the genuine slow learner, the student with learning disabilities. Henry Mazur stood back up to say that in fact these were the same problem. But Mr. Drucker spoke after Henry had finished and settled the matter decisively by asserting ((very ponderously)) that the people Henry was talking about were under-achievers and not genuine slow learners and called again for the teachers to report any student in a class below his level to the administration.

((The descriptions above give the impression of a somewhat more rapid interchange than was actually going on. Each of the speakers I have just mentioned took a little while to say his piece and while this was going on, many of the teachers were talking to each other. There was a definite conversational buzz throughout the meeting because it was in a large lecture room and the talking could easily go unnoticed. Also the teachers continued to work on their roll books)).

A bald headed teacher spoke next and said that there is an organization in New York which has lots of money and lots of employees and which turns out fabulous resources for teaching every day. He said that this organization is the Daily News. "The Daily News is the kind of paper that the students read. It has pictures. It's catchy. If we could just use this, maybe we could get them up to reading the New York Times eventually." ((Researcher note: It is true that the students read the Daily News. The teachers read the Times)).

Several other teachers made comments. Catherine Colgate had her hand up, but Mark Rabin said, "Catherine, I've asked Bill Lowry to speak here and we're running out of time."

Bill Lowry, the UFT representative, took the floor and announced that he had contacted an institute for learning disabilities which is located in Rockland County where he lives. He said he had t[illegible]ed to the psychologist and she had told him a lot of things. ((When he first began speaking, the audience told Bill to speak up louder, and Bill complied)). He said, "When you have a student popping out of his seat all the time, yelling his answers, it's not just a discipline problem. It could be that the student really cannot control himself. He may have a genuine problem of some sort." He said that the psychologist he had talked to had suggested that teachers with problem students should refer them to psychologists to determine if in fact they had genuine learning problems. Bill went on to tout a book that he had obtained from the institute and recommended the services of the institute itself. He listed a number of specific techniques for teaching slow learners which were from the book and said, "These are not conjectures. These are all practices that have been tested." He mentioned a number of techniques, among which were: gear the material to the lowest ability in the class and reduce homework to a minimum. When he mentioned the latter suggestion, he said, "I don't know if the administration wants me to talk about this." His other suggestions included encouraging the student--be sure to give him more yeses than nos. He gave an example of a little speech that one could give to a student which ended with "good boy". ((There was laughter at this, although I am not sure what the reason was)).

Stuart Caslow, the Social Studies chairman, made several short comments next. First, he said that the slow learner has been a topic of conversation at meetings ever since the days of Plato's academy. He also said that he disagreed with Bill Lowry's suggestion about giving a minimum of homework. The only other thing he said was that he had studied techniques used by television and advertising and that game shows like the "Who, What, Where" show and "Jeopardy" were extremely effective. He said these shows sell products and, "You want to sell your product too."

There was a general discussion in the room about the idea of gearing the presentation to the lowest level in the class. Most teachers seemed to disagree with this.

Mr. Drucker rose and introduced a teacher from the floor who had had an interesting experience in a native language arts program which was for people who were illiterates both in their own language and in English. The teacher said that the requisites for working with this sort of student were good humor and patience, and told about a boy who had in fact been able to learn math very quickly. He had learned addition and subtraction from scratch in a couple of weeks. Mark Berlin interjected, "Well, he's not a slow learner."

Mark Rabin spoke again and said, "I just want to ask a specific question. How do you handle a student who refuses to participate?" Mrs. Wallerstein, the panelist, replied that she had found it best to take preventive measures. "If you think about this in advance, you can keep it from happening. If you ask someone to write something on the board and they won't, you are already lost by that point. But if you pick out an eager beaver at the beginning of the term and ask him to be the secretary, then you set a tone." ((The idea here is to have a permanent person to do all the recording on the blackboard)).

Sy Cohen told how in one of his classes last semester they had developed a game called vocabulary basketball in which one side of the class competed against the other. He said that by dividing the class up like this a student who refuses to participate would be subject to pressure by his peers because his team would be losing as a result of his non-participation.

Steve Henson, an art teacher, spoke from his place at the front of the room and said that all the techniques which had been discussed so far were fine, but that mostly it was a matter of individual problems and a teacher had to talk to the students as individuals and keep talking to them.

Mark Berlin then asserted ((very strongly)) that he did not force anyone to participate in his class, that he did not believe in "psychological beating". Mark Rabin challenged him a little bit on this and asked him if he didn't want to draw the students out. Mark said of course he did but reiterated very strongly his objections, his moral objections, to forcing a student to participate.

Mr. Drucker, the Assistant Principal for Administration, stood up as the meeting was about to end and said, "I'm surprised that no one here has rebelled against the lock step way in which the New York City school system proceeds. In this system, there is the same arrangement for the slow students." He then suggested various alternatives to this rigid arrangement, such as a shortened day for some students or co-op programs. "I'm just throwing this out," he said, and sat down.

A man with white sideburns stood up in the middle of the audience and testified to how much he liked working with the co-op students in his classes, saying that he thought they were better students than even some of the very bright students. Mark Rabin talked again and said students often complain about teachers who treat them as if they aren't people and mentioned the situation where a teacher would register shock and surprise at the student's ignorance of a very simple fact, such as an incident in one of his classes where a student did not know where or what New England was. He said, "The lack of knowledge is appalling, but this is just a caution."

Mr. Drucker then said that he thought the bell was about to ring and that that was it. Everyone immediately stood up and started out of the room. In fact, the bell sounded within a minute.

I had been sitting in the back row between Maggie Corwin and a short bald-headed man all this time and as we were standing up, the man asked me what I was going to do with all those notes I had taken. I explained to him that I was working on a study and he started into a tirade. He said, "What did we learn here? There's nothing that we heard today that we don't all know, not one thing." I tried to ask him if he didn't think it was some sort of ritual but he wasn't interested in that. He started talking to a woman in the next row asking her, "What did we learn here? Did you learn anything new here today?" Perhaps she had heard me say that I was an observer in the school because she turned around and started talking about the rapport that she has in her classes. ((Note from writer - fieldworker's possible explanation for her response will take on meaning as the unit progresses)). She said, "I have such great rapport in my classes, but Mr. Sontag ((the principal)) comes in to observe and everything immediately falls apart." Then the bald-headed man asked John Turner, "Did you learn anything new today?" John said that he had not ever thought about comparing teaching to advertising and game shows. Then the bald-headed man said, "You know what the purpose of this is? There's only one purpose. To put 40 extra minutes on your day."

Analysis

Let's start by running through the account in order and picking out the roles that appear. A meeting of people is often a good place to observe the roles people play, as the interactive element often brings out behaviors that might not be seen in one-to-one interactions.

At the beginning of the conference, we have evidences of teachers acting like students. This is a role that the fieldworker had already made certain hypotheses about, and he used the method of involving the participant in the research to test out his ideas. In fact, both Bob Silliman ("I usually sit next to the aisle") and Maggie Corwin (having to knock to get in) substantiated this notion, and further evidence was noted by the fieldworker throughout the course of the meeting (teachers passing notes, conversational buzz, teachers not paying attention and working on their delaney books, filling out "tear-offs" while the moderator was speaking, moving out as soon as dismissed). This is a role that will be discussed in greater depth later in the unit, and we will posit that the role is a response to the implementation of certain administrative policies which treat teachers with less than a professional approach. In this instance, locking the doors so that late teachers would have to knock, requiring attendance and "tear-offs" reporting attendance are both examples of administrative policies which lead to teachers acting like students.

A glance at the physical seating arrangement of the group is an interesting indicator of the roles assumed by the participants. Up in the front of the room we have Milton Drucker, an Assistant Principal (i.e. an administrator), then Mark Rabin, (a department chairman, who is an administrator), then Bill Lowry (the UFT representative and a teacher), and then the panel, which is all teachers. Bill Lowry has an important role in this school, and this is one example. Lowry, as the union representative, is the formal mediator between teachers and administration. He is also considered a moderate both by the teachers and administration, having replaced a much more radical and confrontation oriented predecessor in the position who was ousted because of his confrontation approach. Later in the unit we will give you specific information both from Lowry and from others concerning his broker role in the school. That he is seated in this meeting between the administration and the faculty is no accident, but is symbolic of his position and his role as mediator. He is consistently seen and sees himself as someone who compromises the opposing views of the administration and the faculty.

The audience, which is seated in rows, is made up primarily of teachers, with a sprinkling of department chairmen, who are administrators but are represented here today in their role as instructors and supervisors of instruction. Off to one side, and not sitting with the rest, is Edith Weissman, an administrator. We will see later that she plays a very important role with regard to her status as administrator, and thus her physical separation is, again, more than symbolic.

We see Mr. Drucker in his role of an implementer of the policies of the administration and as representative of the principal, in his announcement about faculty personnel cards, and in his sponsoring of the handing out of the "Dear Mr. Sontag" tear-offs. He is also the "agenda man", the designer of the way the time of the conference should be allocated. Later he plays the role of "ritual specialist", which we define as a person who interprets the rules and who may or may not have the power to make that interpretation stick. In the instance where Drucker asserts the difference between underachievers and slow learners and calls for teachers to report any mixing of the two to the administration, Drucker has the power to make his definitions stick, at least to the extent that discussion closes on the subject after that. His role as administrator is seen again at the end of the meeting, where he appears to have the power to inform the teachers when they can leave, and thus he can be seen as having a certain degree of control over the management of the teachers' time and space decisions.

Mark Rabin's introductory remarks about the Developmental Lesson Plan and the importance of the Motivation allow us to see him in his role of implementer of administrative policies. The principal of Sheridan demands the DLP of all teachers. The fact that Mark Rabin tells the teachers that they do not have to use the Developmental Lesson Plan in its entirety asserts some independence from the party line, but Rabin picks it up again in his question about how to get students to participate. The whole Developmental Lesson is based on how to question and elicit responses from the class. The fact that Mark Berlin objects to the forced participation of students is an indicator of a later role we will spell out which is that of individualist.

Mrs. Wallerstein is a person with whom the fieldworker had had no contact previous to or following this conference. This is a good opportunity to demonstrate the kind of speculation that might be in the fieldworker's mind as he views Mrs. Wallerstein, and tries to come up with some understanding of why she has been chosen to be on this panel. ((The teachers on the panel have been chosen because of some assumed expertise on the topic of slow learners. There is an unstated assumption underlying the conference that this is a meeting of colleagues on a serious subject which must be investigated in order to advance the professional's competence in dealing with this type of student. We will show how this conference has more of the elements of a ritual than an information-sharing gathering. In fact, the expertise of the panelists is somewhat in question, not only by the audience, but by the panelists themselves. As we come to each panelist, we will comment on the explicit or posited reason for the presence of that "expert".)) In the case of Mrs. Wallerstein, the fieldworker has speculated on a very preliminary level that she is "administration fodder". She has been picked, as a nobody, in order to keep more threatening people, like Eileen Shea, another English teacher, a radical, and a real expert on slow learners, who has been teaching remedial reading for years, off the panel. In a follow-up contact with Eileen several days later in the teachers' cafeteria, she told the fieldworker that she had had no chance to sign up. She said, "Are you kidding, I'd love to be on one of those, but they wouldn't dare give me a chance." She said that they always tell her either that they already have enough people for the panel, or that they have found somebody better qualified to serve on it. Mrs. Wallerstein did not view herself as an expert, or at least indicates from her disclaimers at the beginning of her speech that she knows less than most other people there on the subject of slow learners.

Next we have Margaret Rossini. We might ask here why is she on this panel, when she has been teaching for less than a year in a public school, and comes from college teaching, where learning disabled students are not usually either in the forefront or in the mainstream of the institution, if they are there at all. Again, in a follow up contact, the fieldworker asked Margaret Rossini point blank how she got on this panel. Margaret replied, "Yes, isn't that funny. I've never taught in public school before; I probably know less than anybody else in that room about slow learners. But Mark Rabin considers me "a feather in his cap." The reason for this is that Rossini has a doctorate, and that combined with her professorial status has made her a valuable commodity which the Chairman of the English Department was happy to acquire.

Rossini's opening remarks about the misclassification of many five level students can be seen as part of her role as a professional who is qualified to challenge the accepted order. While it is not possible to surmise this challenging position from this incident alone, we have evidence from follow up contacts, again with Eileen Shea in the cafeteria, that Eileen had discussed this issue with her friend, Margaret, before the conference. As we will see later, Eileen is one of the teacher leaders in the school, and plays a very political role.

Edith Weissman, the Assistant Principal for Pupil Personnel Services, who spoke to the question raised by Rossini concerning this misclassification, plays one of the most interesting roles in the school. She is the star ritual specialist in the school. She is constantly interpreting the rules, and she, more than anyone else, has the power to make those interpretations stick. (We will see later that she even wins in arguments with the principal over the interpretation of rules). Edith says that "that sort of thing is absolutely not done", referring to the placement of behavior problem students in slow classes. In that same follow up conversation with Eileen Shea, Eileen says that all the fieldworker had to do to substantiate that this does happen was to simply look at the school records, and he could see that it happened time and time again. Another example of her ritual specialist role is when Edith says that there are no tracks in the high school. The fieldworker once asked Penny Ottman, an administration supporter, and the person in charge of the program office which assigns students to classes, what the story was with tracks, and she told him that they changed the system because it was supposedly discriminatory, but actually "we do everything now just the same as we always did it."

Catherine Colgate's story about the student who wanted to be in the five level class brings in a possible student role. The role of smartest person in the class would not normally be available to this student, but the girl has managed to manipulate the circumstances so that she might be able to play a role that was not normally available to her. The subsequent similar accounts by other teachers indicate that this might be a widespread situation.

Later in the conference, we see Bill Lowry in several of his other roles. He is the only panelist who does not talk about his personal experiences with teaching slow students, but he has been included because of his connection to an expert. He acts here as a salesman, a middle man, a connection between the teachers and the resources they need to develop expertise in this field. His touting of the book and the services of the institute, and his relaying of the psychologist's suggestion about teachers utilizing the resources of psychologists to determine if their students are really learning disabled, can be seen as examples of his salesmanship.

Stuart Caslow, who is an acting chairman, was brought in by the principal, and is considered a supporter of the principal. The fieldworker has speculated here that Caslow is trying to create a role for himself by calling on an original technique, the use of TV quiz shows. The whole conference can be viewed as a ritual occasion, in which everyone is trying to make a "point". Most of the remarks that have been made are rather cliched, and ones that people are all too familiar with. The fieldworker sees Caslow as saying something that is original but harmless.

Mrs. Wallerstein coins another student role in her description of the Eager Beaver. This is also an interesting example of how a teacher attempts to manipulate classroom order through the use of a student who links the teacher to the other students, and also saves face for the teacher, thereby maintaining the image of the teacher as being in control of the class. The whole question posed by Mark Rabin concerning how to handle students who don't participate brings forth from the teachers the differing ways in which they handle this "problem" and at the same time shows how teachers play certain roles in these attempts. Sy Cohen also uses the technique of placing the responsibility on the students to regulate each others' behavior.

Mark Berlin has an interesting role in this meeting in that he cannot be neatly classified into one of the political factions in evidence here. First, he agrees with the administration's rejected policy of grade ceilings and floors. This can be traced to his long tenure in the New York City school system and his firm belief in "standards." He rejects, however, the suggestion implicit in the agenda of this entire meeting that techniques must be discovered and put into use which will control the slow learner and bend him to the will of the teacher. Thus, while Mr. Berlin's sympathies are with the administration's philosophy to some extent, he also invokes the role of professional, one who has the right and ability to decide for himself what policies should be applied in his classroom. His overall role might be called that of an individualist, as he refuses to take political sides in this meeting.

The short, bald-headed man who had been sitting next to the field-worker in the back row puts the final touches on the conference, and allows us to make the assertion with some certitude that this meeting has been a ritual occasion rather than a conference of colleagues. He is playing the role of the "cynic, the no-idealism-about-education, the let-me-do-my-job-pick-up-my-paycheck-and-skip-the-bull role". He is also the truth teller and the teacher as businessman. He attempts to play out his version of the truth on those around him and does not really succeed in getting support, but this can be attributed to the fact that the respondents are playing their own roles. For instance, the woman who talked about rapport and observation, was, thought the fieldworker, afraid that he was an observer representing the principal. John Turner, according to the fieldworker, is probably the only person in the room who took that conference at face value; he has been characterized by the fieldworker as a complete and utter innocent, who deals with kids almost as equals, but takes himself seriously as a teacher. He is considered by the fieldworker to be one of the least aloof adults toward students in the school.

The bald and cynical teacher's assertion that the meeting had no purpose but to keep him in school longer can be born out by certain facts. The rest of our fieldwork that year did not turn up any tangible results of this meeting. No policy was formulated there or implemented afterward on the basis of the meeting. Further, the records of many conversations between teachers and between teachers and fieldworkers substantiate the assertion that no significant information was imparted to the teachers during the meeting. These topics were all standard fare in the school.

Having discarded the possibilities of policy-making and information-sharing as purposes for the meeting, we can next consider the possibility that the purpose was to give expression to collegiality among teachers and to build morale. Several aspects of the meeting bear out this notion, primarily the fact the panel members were teachers and not administrators or outside specialists. This fact gives credence to the notion that the purpose of the meeting was to share individual problems and solutions among teachers.

We have seen, however, first, that the selection of this panel has been influenced by political factors. Mrs. Wallerstein does not see why she was asked to be on the panel, while Eileen Shea, a radical teacher, has very definite ideas about why she was not asked, although she can certainly claim expertise as a teacher of slow learners. Margaret Rossini feels that she was selected because she is "a feather in the cap" of the moderator. Margaret also tried to slip in some of the politically threatening (to the school's administration) theories about placement of her friend Eileen (which also seem to accord with her own brief experience) until her statement was completely invalidated by Edith Weissman, the Assistant Principal and administration spokesman. Mrs. Weissman uses her acknowledged expertise as an authority on both rules and laws of the system as well as on the scheduling procedures which she oversees to literally define out of existence the inflammatory suggestion of Mrs. Rossini. The alleged distinction between "slow learners" and "underachievers" is asserted to be absolute and unmistakable, except in marginal cases, for which cases the responsibility is then shifted to the teachers themselves ("if anyone knows of such a case, please report it to my office").

There are two other points in this meeting in which the policies of the administration are brought into question. In both cases, the administration's position is made very clear. The first case is the mention of the work "tracking" which is commonly used throughout the school to describe the school's programming system. Formerly, students had been assigned a block of classes, so that, for example, a student in a slow learner's English class would also be in a slow learner's math class, etc. That system was abolished as discriminatory, but the current system works almost identically because, in practice, most students are assigned to most classes on the basis of their reading scores, whether the class be English, math, science, or business. This practice is in large part a contingency of the huge size and complexity of scheduling in this school which does not really allow for close personal attention to each student's program. Despite the fact that "tracking" does for the most part exist, however, Edith Weissman carefully maintains the official interpretation and her power and acknowledged expertise are such that no one challenges her directly, even though the teachers continue to use the word "tracking" throughout the meeting.

The other administrative policy that comes up is one that has been successfully rejected by the teachers the year before. This was the policy of assigning grade ceilings and floors to slow learners and academic classes respectively. As soon as the teachers begin to discuss the problem of students who intentionally get placed in slow classes, Edith Weissman again steps in as ritual specialist and challenges them with the grade ceilings/floors.

We begin now to see that this meeting does not provide very much teacher input into policy-making or problem-solving, and that the illusion of collegiality established by setting up a panel of teachers is undercut by the facts that (1) the administration, in the persons of Mark Rabin and Milton Drucker, carefully controls the agenda, who is on the panel, who speaks, and when they speak, and (2) anytime that an administration policy is brought up, the official interpretation is clearly outlined and other interpretations are defined out of existence.

One might then still ask, with the cynical man in the back, why the meeting was held at all. The answer seems to be that, even if allowing real collegial input from teachers is considered too threatening, the illusion of collegiality must be maintained. Thus, the meeting is an exercise, a ritual in which everyone, teachers and administrators alike, go through the motions of acting like colleagues. Underneath, however, political tensions in the school are being played out. Politically prescient teachers like Eileen Shea are aware of the administrative control techniques at work and still try to manipulate the potential of the meeting for expressing, perhaps even fomenting dissent. One of Eileen's tactics is to get her friend Margaret to capitalize on her role as a feather in the chairman's cap. Eileen also reported to the fieldworker that she stood up in another session of the slow learner conference and "gave them a piece of my mind."

Thus, the ritual of collegiality became briefly a battlefield of political opposition. Thus, the roles which we have described and inferred from this meeting have been primarily those which relate to the political processes in the school. These roles include mediators, ritual specialists, policy implementers, individualists, administration fodder, etc. Even political roles for students are suggested as in the concept of an "eager beaver" as a student through whom a teacher can exert control over the rest of a class. The following diagram relates (a) the people in the meeting to (b) their formal statuses as defined by the formal organization chart to (c) the roles that are publicly considered to be attached to those statuses to (d) certain emergent roles, primarily political, which these people have assumed in the organization, again, primarily in response to the political situation.

Person	Status	Formal Role	Emergent Role
Bob Silliman Maggie Corwin Paula	Teacher " "	Instructor Order Keeper Implementer of policy	Teachers acting like students
Milton Drucker	Vice-Principal	Administrative specialist	Ritual Specialist Agenda-controller
Mark Rabin	Department Chairman	Teacher Teacher supervisor Moderator	Administration supporter Colleague
Bill Lowry	Teacher, UFT Representative	Mediator Teacher	Compromising mediator Salesman
Bill Lowry's predecessor as UFT Representative	Teacher, UFT Representative	Mediator Teacher	Confrontation mediator Salesman
Mrs. Wallerstein	Teacher	Instructor Order Keeper Implementer of policy	Administration fodder
Eileen Shea	Teacher	Instructor Order Keeper Implementer of policy	Leader of dissent
Margaret Rossini	Teacher	Instructor Order Keeper Implementer of policy	Feather in chairman's cap Professional and challenger of established order
Stuart Caslow	Department Chairman	Teacher Teacher supervisor Moderator	Administration supporter
Unnamed student	Student	Learner	Eager beaver
Unnamed teacher	Teacher	Instructor Order Keeper Implementer of policy	Cynic Businessman
John Turner	Teacher	Instructor Order Keeper Implementer of policy	Political innocent
Unnamed student(s)	Student	Slow learner	Smartest person in the class by own manipulation of scheduling

	Person	Status	Formal Role	Emergent Role
14.	Various Students	Student	Slow Learners	Victim of punishment by scheduling
15.	Various Students	Student	Underachievers	--
16.	Mark Berlin	Teacher	Instructor Order Keeper Implementer of policy	Professional individualist
17.	Unnamed Teacher (the "Rapport" woman)	Teacher	Instructor Order Keeper Implementer of policy	Self-protector against evaluation

Role of the Principal

The status of principal is common to all three of our high schools. It has a variety of roles attached to it. This status is at the apex of all three bureaucratic structures. In all three schools, principals must carry out certain tasks in order to keep the institution of the school running smoothly and in accordance with its goals. In order to carry these out, the principal assumes different roles in response to the demand of the task and the context of the situation. The particular role or roles each principal assumes varies from school to school. Variations can be due to individual personality and idiosyncratic behavior, or they can be due to the need for differing types of responses to different bureaucratic structures and different organic structures.

Our description and analysis of the roles of the principal will begin by considering the question of what the credentials necessary to attain the status of principal are, and, once attained, what kind of acceptance by the existing power structure is necessary in order to endure in that position? A discussion of what the principal must do to keep the school running effectively concerns what he himself does and what he delegates to others. Then we will examine how each principal actually goes about getting these things done, and how their roles vary from school to school. We will also try to determine how much time each principal spends playing any one of his roles, and see if we can extract relationships between the emphasis placed on the role and the larger structural characteristics of the school.

In later sections, we will tend to distinguish between formal and emergent roles. The formal roles coincide with formal job descriptions outlining responsibilities and duties of each position; the emergent roles are the specialized roles which develop in response to the particular needs of organizations or individuals within organizations. However, in the case of the principal, there is so much latitude in the interpretation of the limits of his roles that is almost impossible, for example, to separate when a gatekeeping role assumed by a principal does not come under the formal category of order keeping. Actually, it is often difficult to determine what the boundaries of a formal role are unless they are tested, and testing the limits of a role is a rather risky proposition from the point of view of the organization, as it could lead to changes in the structural design, which would in turn affect the entire social organization of the school. Most institutions cannot easily accommodate radical change, and very few have built in renewal structures which would encourage re-design.

Credentials and Qualifications of the Principal

Credentials allow a principal to act as an expert and an authority figure. They qualify him to be a leader. They represent the Weberian principle of merit, in that they allow the selection process to operate without favoritism and with uniform standards, thereby assuring fairness. (This principle, of course, assumes that selection procedures such as examinations are completely unbiased and do not favor one person (or group) over another. However, the past ten years have demonstrated that standardized tests such as IQ tests are quite slanted in favor of some groups and against others. The abolition of the civil service examinations for educators in New York results from this.)

1. Sheridan - urban school

Irwin Sontag rose to the position of principal through the process of civil service licensing examinations, which were originally the only way to attain this position in New York City. Since this time, the examinations have been abolished, one of the grounds being that they discriminated against certain minority groups. Sontag took the examination in 1965, and he was failed by a fraction of a point. He went to court and contested the ruling by the Board of Examiners. The Board tried to say that they had lost Sontag's papers, but the exam turned up and the Board of Examiners finally ruled that Sontag had been underrated. Sontag's lawyer told him he would have no trouble getting material compensation for his losses, but Sontag decided to avoid this. In an interview, Sontag said:

> I don't think I would have gotten anything, but even if I would have gotten something, I only would have muddied the waters further. I would have further destroyed the merit system and my lawyer said I could get you money because no judge is going to buy the idea that they lost your papers. But then I thought of the political consequences. The political consequences would have been that I would have been on the other side destroying the Board of Examiners. . . But the dimensions of the conflict, it seems to me, were greater than ten or fifteen thousand dollars that I could have acquired for myself. . . But I thought about it and I said the money wasn't worth it to me, because there was a principle that was involved that was more important. Now, then I came to Sheridan.

In the same interview, Sontag tells how his mother was quite disappointed that he never got a Ph.D. He says that "I never saw the merit of it because I was in the school system and we were promoted through examinations."

The principal of Sheridan subscribes to the merit system. He moved up through the New York City educational structure through examination. He did not pursue his education further because he did not need any additional degrees to succeed in his position. What is the effect of the question of credentials on the selection of Mr. Sontag as principal of Sheridan? Credentials allowed him to attain the position. They protect him while he is there; they legitimize his right to be the principal. They are not, however, the only hurdle that must be overcome to attain the position. The New York City selection process builds in one aspect of local acceptance. We will discuss this in the ensuing section.

2. Sheffield - suburban school

Dr. Gebhardt has an Ed.D. from a university in Tennessee. He was in his second year as principal of Sheffield when the field observations took place. He remained with the school only one more year, then returned to a presumably preferred job in his native Ohio. It is assumed that he had state licensing as a principal. This principal had no prior connection with this community, and his degree was apparently his means of access to this job and entrance to the community. Random comments from teachers throughout the year of our study were heard which debunked the principal's doctorate in such words as "You can't learn about teaching from books."

Perhaps this sarcasm among teachers can be related to the fact that principals are often funneled into schools with no prior connection by virtue of credentials networks among educational colleges and school boards, but it can also be inferred from their remarks that the degree status of the principal serves to set the principal apart from and above the rest of the school population, thus legitimizing his authority and his right to be principal.

3. Green Valley - rural school

The man who had been principal of Green Valley for many years suffered a heart attack and retired several years before the field work began. During the course of the next two years, two principals were hired and left in rapid succession, the first because of a heart attack, and the second for personal reasons. During this time, George Wyatt, a guidance counselor who had been in the system for seven years, had been getting his principal's license. The fieldworker relates that he was the only person left in the district with a principal's license and was hired when the new school opened two years before the fieldwork began. He had an M.A. from Teachers College. He left the position after three years on the job.

In Green Valley we have a man ascending to the position of principal from a lower position as guidance counselor within the same rural system. The implication from the notes is that he was a last choice, and one of the only reasons he got in was because he possessed the credentials at a much needed time. As we shall see in our discussion of Mr. Wyatt and his acceptance problems, credentials were the only thing that got him in and allowed him to stay in as long as he remained.

Acceptance by the Local Power Structure. In order to obtain the status of principal, an individual must meet certain requirements which are usually written down and which can rarely be deviated from radically without incurring the opposition of union, board, or community. In some situations, however, the possession of credentials is not enough to allow the principal to maintain his authority as principal, and being accepted by the powers that be in that school system can become extremely important to the effective accomplishment of the principal's functions. This might mean having 'friends-in-court' at the local or central board of education, or it may simply and implicitly require that the candidate meet certain criteria which are of some significance, not necessarily educational and are often political and social, to the people who carry weight in the school system and/or community.

1. Sheridan

Mr. Sontag is a product of the local city system. He said in an interview that he decided to be a teacher

> because an immigrant family did not know about options those days, you see. You became a doctor, a lawyer, or a teacher, or you went to work in the garment trade. . . . The one area that was open as a merit system was teaching. So we all gravitated toward teaching because it was the only way to escape either the local candy store, the local grocery shop or the sweat shop, the garment trade. . . . In 1939 there were two Jews who were high school principals. When the merit system was crushed four years ago, perhaps 85 or 90 percent were Jews. But in 1939 there were only two Jews who were high school principals. ((Interview))

After having taught as a social studies teacher, Mr. Sontag moved into a supervisory position for which he also took an examination. He next went to a vocational high school and worked there as a supervisor for thirteen years. He became tired of the job and this motivated him to take the principal's examination.

During his tenure in the various high schools throughout New York City, Sontag became acquainted with many of the people who were later to assume important roles at the Central Board of Education. He knowns nearly everyone of importance at the Central Board, and everyone knows him. He is able to help people get jobs in other places in the system by a telephone call to the right office. While his particular methods are not necessarily universally appreciated at the Central Board, he is reputed to have brought order into a high school in which no instruction had been taking place.

In a discussion with practitioners about the question of the constraints a principal faces, we were reminded that one control on a principal in New York City is that of gaining tenure. We investigated this, and discovered that 1) unless there are serious problems or radical inconsistencies, a principal is usually passed for tenure; 2) that a principal does not automatically come up for tenure, although the period of probation is approximately three years, and 3) the principal is evaluated by the Superintendent of High Schools for his borough. We contacted one of the fieldworkers who told us that Mr. Sontag had just been reviewed during the fieldwork period and had been given a glowing evaluation by the Board administrator. Our fieldworker saw the evaluation which explicitly cited Mr. Sontag's order-keeping as the basis for the positive evaluation.

So on the Central Board level, Mr. Sontag has many friends and a strong support base. This allows him freedom and ability to manage his high school pretty much as he sees fit.

But the question of local acceptance also reaches into the actual selection process in New York. As it exists now, the selection process requires that candidates for a principalship appear before a committee of parents, which then selects the names of three finalists, who are then considered by a panel of three neutral principals. They make recommendations to the chancellor, and he/she makes the final decision. When Mr. Sontag was competing for the job, the process was not quite the same, but he was required to appear before a group of parents. In spite of the fact that one of the parents was a woman he had known from his days as a supervisor in the vocational school who was not personally disposed toward him, she approved him anyway. Sontag believes this is because she could not refuse his qualifications when taken in a professional light. The organization of Sheridan parents, however, is almost non-existent. The school has gerrymandered administrative boundaries extending all over the city, and getting the students' working class parents together at any one time has proved impossible. The parents' committee which interviewed Mr. Sontag consisted of the only five active parents in the official parents' organization of Sheridan.

One other example of how Mr. Sontag had local acceptance at the beginning of his term and how it helped him get where he is is a mention in an interview with a staff member in Sheridan that Mr. Sontag had been the choice of the Acting Principal who preceded Mr. Sontag. The story is that this woman had been so devoted to the original principal who had died of a heart attack that she would not sit in his chair when she replaced him. She had a good deal of ownership over that position and that office, and her support of Mr. Sontag could have only helped his ability to assume control of the school.

2. Sheffield

Dr. Gebhardt, while he came in from outside the system and the state, gained local acceptance quickly from at least two areas of influence.

The first was at the Board level, which desired and expected innovation from the principal. At one point Dr. Gebhardt says that he thinks he was selected by the Board for the position because of his commitment to change, although he also said that the Board really had no idea what kind of change he was thinking about. In addition, there was one group of teachers in the high school who were relatively powerful and supported innovation, although for the most part had not been initiators of change. There was also a group of change resisters, and Gebhardt's eventual acceptance by and ability to manage his school can be seen as a product of his ability to balance the two opposing groups.

3. Green Valley

George Wyatt had been a guidance counselor for seven years in the local system. This would seem to indicate that he had a certain degree of acceptance by the community or school; in fact, according to the field-worker who spent a good deal of time getting familiar with the elements of the local culture, seven years is not a long time to be in a rural system. In order to be considered an "insider," an individual must have been in the system "for generations," must have roots in the area, or must have some important qualifying trait that legitimizes an outsider status. It appears from the data that Wyatt had none of these characteristics. Furthermore, Wyatt's ethnicity ((he is Jewish)) made him more of an outsider, as the Jewish population in the area is not large.

Analysis: At least two of the principals in the study had been teachers before becoming administrators, while the third had been a guidance counselor. Seymour Sarason, in The Culture of the School (1971), points out that most principals get to that position by having been classroom teachers for a number of years, but most are ill-prepared to assume leadership positions, since just because a teacher has been a leader of children does not mean he/she will be an effective leader of adults. Furthermore, it is a commonly held belief (or myth) that teachers are rulers in their own classrooms and over the years have absorbed and accepted a tradition of privacy and isolation which they are not likely to change when they become principals. Sarason holds that this kind of personal history is not fair preparation for the tasks and responsibilities that will face the principal. Whether Sarason's assumptions are correct is an issue for debate. We are interested in stimulating you to question whether because it has always been that way, it should remain that way.

Credentials were of the utmost importance in the case of George Wyatt and his ascension to the principalship, but it was not enough to permit him to succeed in that position. He came into the school as an outsider, and his credentials did not help to change this attribution. He needed to be accepted by the local power structure, and this support was not forthcoming. Sontag, on the other hand, while credentials were necessary for his formal admission to the rank, was greatly aided both in his competition for the job and in his endurance as principal by his strong support base at the Central Board and among the rank and file of the city educational system. Gebhardt appears to have been successful because of his ability to carry out policies desired by his superiors, while at the same time maintaining relative peace between the opposing groups in the school.

Duties of the Principal

The principal is responsible for overseeing the smooth administration of his school. This covers a variety of needs, interpreted differently by incumbents in each of our schools. Having observed the operations of these three principals, we have concluded that there are at least six tasks which the principal must see to in order for the school to run effectively, which must either be performed by the principal him/herself or delegated to someone on the staff. These include:

1. Scheduling and programming
2. Discipline and order keeping
3. Overseeing instruction and supervising curriculum
4. Mediation and resolution of conflicts between groups within the school, and management of communication between outside groups (the Board, unions, community, interest groups) and the school
5. Policy implementation and "innovation," although not necessarily in the progressive sense of the word, but rather the idea of "moving the school forward" in some way
6. Performance of socioemotional leadership roles, that is, "acting like a leader."

It is obvious that no one single person could accomplish all of the above, and thus the principal must delegate any or all to other people within the school. How that delegation is accomplished and the lines of authority and power that this delegation creates within the organization have been discussed in the unit on types of bureaucratic structures. This section will deal with what functions the principal delegates and to whom he gives this responsibility. From there, we will investigate what roles this delegation creates.

The second part of this section will attempt to outline the various functions as seen by both the incumbents in the role (when such data are available) and by others viewing the obligations attached to the role of principal.

Delegation of functions

1. Sheridan High School

   a. Scheduling

Irwin Sontag delegates this important task to Penny Ottman. Penny is the Acting Assistant Principal in Charge of the Program. However, the "acting" nature of her title sets certain parameters to her role for two reasons. The first concerns the fact that an "acting" person does not have the full power of the role, and has been appointed by the principal; it is not credentials necessarily that have placed a person in this position, but rather certain good favor by the principal. This also means that the acting person must continue to remain in good favor with the principal, or the title will be revoked. Second, while she is an acting Assistant Principal, she is still paid on a teacher line, which formally classifies her as a teacher, although due to the fact that she teaches only one class a day and functions as an administrator the rest of the time, we will consider her under the section on administrators.

Scheduling is further delegated to lower level managers in the system, but the major responsibility lies with Penny Ottman.

b. Discipline and order-keeping

Sontag acts as a symbolic disciplinarian of students, accosting them in the hall and such, but the deans, who are teachers, have the real responsibility for disciplining students. The school aides, a position unique to the urban school, are former students who are close in age to the students, and do quite a bit of the hall patrolling and general order keeping in the school. Security people, such as entrance guards and hall guards, also have disciplinary responsibilities.

With regard to the control of teachers, Sontag assumes this role himself and shares it with department chairmen.

c. Overseeing instruction

Sontag considers himself a "master teacher," having told one of our fieldworkers that he liked classroom teaching, and would like to return to it someday. He believes strongly in the Developmental Lesson Plan, the standardized form for teaching a class in the New York City system, and demands it of all his teachers. In order to enforce this demand he conducts observations and formal evaluations of teachers in their classrooms. While he does delegate this task of observing to his department chairmen, he apportions a great deal of his time to conducting observations personally.

d. Mediation and maintenance of balance

This is a difficult function for a principal to delegate, due to the fact that he/she is legally considered the representative of the school to the outside. Bill Lowry possesses a good deal of mediation ability from his formal role as union representative, but Sontag also delegates a certain amount of the mediation task to Lowry, a function of Lowry's trusted position as informal broker between faculty and administration, between union and management.

e. Innovation and Policy Making

Sontag does not really delegate this duty. He feels his job is "to move the school forward." When he came into his position, his major policies included restoring and maintaining of internal order, raising teacher and student attendance, and requiring the standard use of the Developmental Lesson Plan.

f. Playing leadership roles.

These affective and socioemotional elements of being a leader, while not necessarily explicitly part of the formal role, are important for maintaining the image of leadership. Sontag considers himself a role model, a master teacher, and an omnipresent figure, all of which he considers contribute to the effective accomplishment of his job as principal.

2. Sheffield

a. Scheduling

Dr. Gebhardt delegates this to the Assistant Principal, Robert Chevalier.

b. Discipline

This is also delegated to Mr. Chevalier. The all important aspect of these first two functions can be seen in a joke made by a teacher to the Assistant Principal, in which the teacher asked the administrator where his assistant, the Principal, was. Also, the mammoth responsibility involved in the combined effect of these jobs is indicated by the Assistant Principal, who, after a smoke bomb incident occurs in the school, explains sheepishly that he has been tied up with scheduling for the past several weeks and his door has been closed, thus making it impossible for him to be the complete disciplinarian that he usually is.

c. Overseeing instruction

Gebhardt delegates curriculum development to John Forsythe. This is an interesting story in itself, as the job of curriculum coordinator was developed in response to a need by the institution to formalize what was an emergent role. Forsythe assumed this title, and the principal plans that the job will phase out in several years, when there is no longer a need for it. Gebhardt assumes responsibility for observing teachers, although he does not particularly care for the technique. He seems to share this job with the Assistant Principal, although the separation of duties is not clear here. He delegates quite a bit of responsibility for curriculum and teaching to the teachers and department chairmen, although they are not always so anxious to assume the responsibility. He even talks about student determination of curriculum at one point.

d. Mediation

Unfortunately, the data is rather scanty here, but he does not seem to delegate this.

e. Innovation

Gebhardt assumes this task wholeheartedly; he tries to share it with supporters. While he does not really delegate this, he hopes it will be a general movement in the school.

f. Leadership roles.

He does not delegate these. He tells the fieldworker that having delegated discipline, scheduling and curriculum, he really doesn't think there is a need for a principal. But "people always want a leader to tell them what to do, so I guess I'm here to be the principal." ((direct quote))

3. Green Valley

Delegation by the principal in this school is in contrast to our other two. In order for a principal to be able to delegate responsibility, he/she must have the power and control over these functions in the first place. As we will see throughout this section, George Wyatt did not succeed in assuming and controlling a position in the school.

a. Scheduling

Wyatt delegates this to Mr. Cooke, the senior guidance counselor. Wyatt tried to institute flexible scheduling and replace the bell system, but the story leaked to the community and the PTA and the Board came down on him.

b. Discipline

Wyatt certainly considers himself a disciplinarian, and that is the main role in which he is perceived by students. At least one teacher, Mr. Dodey, has also assumed a school-wide role as disciplinarian.

c. Overseeing instruction

This is another area where Wyatt's outsider status prevented him from assuming control. Two chairmen, Mr. Burton of the English department and Mr. Green of the Math and Science Department, seem to have had the influence over curriculum and teaching, and Wyatt never got it to delegate.

d. Mediation

Wyatt's difficulties with attempting to change the scheduling procedures are one example of his problems in mediation. Wh[illegible] he did not delegate mediation, he also seemed unwilling to take any really decisive stands vis-à-vis one group or another. With regard to the development of a set of smoking rules which he did not really favor but was compelled to develop, Wyatt never took responsibility for having developed them. The rules were unpopular with the students and teachers, although they were approved by the Board. No one ever seemed to know Wyatt had drawn up the rules. He still bore the brunt of the blame, however, since teachers felt that he had been wishy-washy and had not taken a stand against the rules. He attempted to play a mediation role and failed.

e. Innovation

Wyatt tried to introduce change, but he was afraid to buck the existing order, commanded by Burton. Wyatt expressed his position as being caught between both a conservative community and a conservative faculty. Again, it is a case of not having the power in the first place, and thus no delegation has taken place.

f. Leader roles

None are evident from the field data. Wyatt seems to have been afraid to initiate and follow through action, and deferred to Burton.

Performance of duties

In this section we will draw on statements made both by the incumbents in the role of principal and by others (teachers, students, auxilliary personnel) concerning the ways in which the principal acts to carry out these functions. Given the fact that all three of these principals have roughly similar positions on the formal organization charts, let's see how each interprets his role differently in order to see what common factors emerge and where there are areas of latitude.

General Rights and Duties of the Role of Principal. The role of principal carries with it certain general rights and duties of behavior. But there is a great deal of latitude in what is acceptable behavior for a principal, and the limits on his power are less dependent on any written rules than they are on the individual principal's ability to exercise his authority and convert that formal authority into real power.

Incumbents' views: Mr. Sontag, responding to requests and demands that he not do certain things concerning the control of teachers, replied "This is my perogative as principal and this I will do." He sees himself as not having to explain his actions as long as he knows he has been abiding by the rules. This came up in the case of a person who had applied for a job with a citywide cultural organization that has chapters in each school, and been turned down by Sontag. The applicant had demanded to know why he had not gotten the job. Sontag said that he did not have to write a letter explaining his reasons, because he had been abiding by the rules, and that was all that was necessary.

In another situation, Bill Lowry, the union representative, asked Sontag to withdraw an order he had sent out, requiring teachers to assume hall patrol. Sontag refused, saying "it's within the right of a principal to do that." ((Direct quote)) Teachers know and concede that the Sheridan principal is within his rights as long as he abides by the UFT contract. Teachers will not challenge "the contract."

Another general duty as seen by Sontag is to keep a smooth working operation. In a discussion with the fieldworker about excessing (a method for cutting administrative and teacher personnel in New York City), Sontag said that he used this as "a way of cutting the fat. Bureaucracy tends to multiply itself and keep itself going. This is a way of cutting the fat. A smooth working operation doesn't have any fat. I cut out one full administrative position." ((paraphrase))

Others' views: One teacher from Sheridan who was also the former union representative and someone characterized by the principal and by other teachers as a radical, said that high school principals are "virtually allowed to do anything they want." ((Direct quote)) A more moderate teacher, who we will meet later under the section on teacher leaders, said

> principals have total power in this system ((i.e., NYC)). The junior high schools and elementary schools have all been decentralized, but the high schools have not been. They're still centralized and under the system. Principals just have total power and they have so much that I don't even think they know how much they have. Anyone else in the school has their power which is strictly derived from the power of the principal. There is no real community pressure because the community is spread all over and without this kind of pressure even that restraint on the principal is removed. ((Paraphrase))

One administrator called principals "feudal barons in their castles." A teacher voiced the opinion that the principal has to be several people, that he can't just be competent in a given area, that he had to be a politician and a public relations man.

Scheduling and Programming. These functions are delegated in all three of the schools to others on the staff.

Discipline and Order Keeping. Incumbents' views: We have only one instance of a principal talking about himself as a disciplinarian, which may signify that principals do not directly picture themselves in this role. In the urban school, as we have pointed out, making order out of chaos was an issue at the beginning of Mr. Sontag's tenure, and when the fieldworker asked the principal if it really was all that bad, Mr. Sontag replied,

> It was really bad. When I first came here there was no instruction going on, people were always late to class. He said . . . I still have to go out in the hall and I have to check up on this kind of thing and make sure that kids are getting to their classes and teachers are starting their classes on time. In fact, today I'm having a meeting with all of the chairmen to discuss this. ((paraphrase))

Others' views:

1. Sheridan. We have several examples of the principal acting as disciplinarian of both teachers and students. One incident concerns an experience the fieldworker had where a teacher had allowed the researcher into his classroom without checking his ID. The teacher later told the researcher that Mr. Sontag had spoken to him about this. The teacher told the researcher that Mr. Sontag had seen a girl walk into his classroom the next period. The girl was not in his class and had just come in in the middle of the class period to get something out of her locker. The teacher had decided to ignore it, but then Mr. Sontag came into his classroom and reprimanded him about it, telling the chairman that "no one comes into your room." ((paraphrase)) This points out not only the disciplinary role that the principal has assumed in relation to students and teachers, but also shows him in a gatekeeping role, where he sees himself charged with overseeing who has access to what space. One element of keeping an ordered school can, in this case, be seen as controlling who can come in and leave rooms, halls, and the building.

Another example of Mr. Sontag's discipline role is when he acts as a "hall accoster," stopping students or teachers to find out what they are doing or who they are. A student teacher who was very young looking told about the first time he had met Mr. Sontag. The principal had come up to him in the hallway one day and asked him who he was, a teacher or a student. The teacher had said, "are you kidding?" not knowing who Mr. Sontag was. He paused for a few moments and then said, "I'm a student teacher." Mr. Sontag demanded to know whose department he was in, and the teacher told him. "That's all I wanted to know," said Mr. Sontag. "I'm the principal." ((paraphrase))

While the previous incident implies some sort of direct action to be taken on the part of the principal (talking to the department chairman, at least), Mr. Sontag assumes a more symbolic role with respect to student discipline. He sees his main duty as keeping the halls clear. The fieldworker relates a story in which a student approached him to find out what the bell schedule was and when the 8th period ended, as it was a special bell schedule that day and the fieldworker had, by this time, become a known information source for matters like this. The observer told the student what he wanted to know, and as the student walked to the stairway, the principal appeared, telling the student to "come here. Where do you belong?" The boy said he had just gotten back from lunch. Mr. Sontag said "You just came back from lunch? Outside. You're supposed to stay outside for the entire period." ((paraphrase))

2. Green Valley. The comments here all come from the fieldworker. She noted that Wyatt appeared to be disliked by most of the students,

perhaps because of his disciplinarian approach. Wyatt handled student problems personally, or at least showed no reluctance to do so, for instance scolding boys sitting on the hood of a moving car, making a student apologize to the teacher. In the field notes, the observer says,

> The kids said they feel very harrassed by George Wyatt. They told me that today when they were sitting in the auditorium during the assembly holding hands Wyatt came by and told them to stop holding hands because it bothered him. . . . I also saw Wyatt during the assembly go up to Mike Norton ((another student)) and stop him from putting his feet up on the chair in front of him. It seems to me at the same time that a number of other kids were sitting in rather similar positions.

Overseeing instruction. Incumbents' views:

1. Sheridan. The principal sees teacher evaluation and observation as the main method for supervising curriculum and instruction. He sees it as his job to monitor instruction. Sontag relates in an interview that when he first came to the school, the staff made two demands: don't observe classes, and don't press on attendance.

> S: But the big thing was they didn't want to be observed.
> Fieldworker: If you don't observe, you don't evaluate.
> S: You don't evaluate, you don't know what your real problems are. You don't promote staff training, and so on, you know. Well there had been no observation for years and they were accustomed to it. Now suddenly a principal begins to observe. The first question was do you know what you're looking for? Do you know how to observe? Well, I think the word quickly got around that I knew what was going on in each of the curriculum areas. So that constituted an even greater threat. You see, you walk into a science class and you say to a guy if you did it this way, you would be teaching the scientific method. So he comes out and he says to the chairman, is this guy a science man? I thought he was social studies. The chairman says I don't know. I thought he was social studies. Well, you know, you're prepared for this in taking a principal's exam. You spend hours and hours observing in every subject area and trying to

> understand it. . . . So that constituted a threat and that's what they didn't want and I don't know how I could have actually supervised the school and moved it forward without doing that.
>
> F: Yeah, without the fight.
>
> S: Without the fight. That's desirable to have avoided, very desirable to have avoided, and that's my major target for next year. It's been my target every year, and I think we have been inching forward. . . .

Later in the same interview, Sontag says "I made one contribution to Sheridan. It was, in my opinion, it was that I brought professional standards to the place."

The union representative, Bill Lowry, periodically asks Sontag to stop making observations of people out of license ((out of license means that a teacher who is licensed in one subject, such as biology, has been moved out of biology and into teaching physics, because there are not enough students for another biology class and a physics teacher is needed. Observations of people teaching out of license are naturally more threatening, as the teacher is not teaching in his or her area of competency)). Sontag flatly refused, saying "I will continue to do this" ((paraphrase)), indicating that this was not an area for debate. Sontag further told the fieldworker that,

> if you have a building that's well supervised and well administered, you have effects on the school, and if you have a building poorly supervised and poorly administered, you have effects on the school. If you have a staff training program involving observations and individualized help and department conferences and post observation conferences and committees, then you're going to see results. ((paraphrase))

Sontag also sees himself as a kind of "master teacher." He said that the thing he felt he could do best was be a classroom teacher. He thought he was a good classroom teacher and planned to return to the classroom and teach again, because that is what he feels he is most qualified to do. In a faculty meeting where teachers were discussing various questioning methods they used in their classes, there was a question about the types of questions that might be effective. Sontag jumped in and said "Let me handle that. The way to handle questions is to use them to extend the discussion. This is what you're looking for. If the net effect is teacher dominated then that is not what you are looking for. We all know that the more involved the students are in the learning process the more the learning process is enhanced. . . ." ((paraphrase)) Sontag often places himself in this role of expert, although his recommendations, unless they become requirements, are generally attended to by his supporters and ignored by those who resist his policies.

2. Sheffield. In Sheffield, observation of teachers is also an issue, but is not seen as a preferred method for supervising teachers. The principal informs the fieldworker that the Superintendent has asked him to observe an incompetent teacher's behavior to see whether or not he is improving. The principal says that it is an unpleasant task. He discusses several ways of dealing with the teacher's incompetence. (The teacher has senior tenure and cannot be dismissed.) He speculates the Board of Education may try to give the teacher another subject area, such as math or business English, but that "we are thinking that maybe we could give him a lot of study halls." Later, however, we hear from a teacher that the supposedly incompetent teacher is perhaps the most knowledgeable person on the faculty, but his difficulties lie in the area of control over his class. The administration's solution is one of passivity; rather

than even presenting an intention of in-service training or collegial help, their tactic is to strip him of his raison d'être as a teacher by giving him either all study halls or a subject area other than his own.

A memorandum from the Principal to the faculty talks about the principal's philosophy of education. Additionally, the principal mentions the importance of accountability as a standard of measuring teachers. He reminds teachers that there is a "teacher surplus" and asks them if they thought they could compete with the new teachers being hired now in this era of oversupply and tight competition. He tells the teachers to re-evaluate themselves and improve themselves, since the Administrators must submit Teacher Evaluations to the Board of Education. Gebhardt also writes in that memo that giving a student a failing grade means that the teacher has also failed, that the teacher is responsible and accountable for a student's progress. He suggests a method for self-evaluation, saying that "I expect every teacher to use the VideoTape Recorder at least once during the year." ((Direct quote))

Thus, while Sheffield appears at first glance to be protective toward its teachers, in fact Dr. Gebhardt takes a somewhat threatening stand toward his faculty. Sontag does not need to make his threats explicit; his supervisory methods rest on "visibility," that is, he checks up on his staff by watching them. Everyone in Sheridan understands the implications of Sontag's observations, whether he performs them directly or delegates the job to his department chairmen. In the first year of his principalship, Mr. Sontag gave 15 unsatisfactory ratings to teachers. This number was greater than the total for the previous ten years in Sheridan. In Sheffield, instruction is supervised by the principal from more of a distance. He deals with the problems of how to supervise when employees are not always visible, by means of policy statements such as this memo, which supervises the teacher as instructor through the threat of 1) evaluations (demanded by the Board and thus taking the role of "controller" off the head of the principal); 2) competition from younger, 'better-trained' teachers; 3) responsibility for failing a student. He does suggest aids for teachers, but the word "expect" in the memorandum implies that the self-evaluation idea is more of a demand. In this sense, Gebhardt is imposing his method for teacher improvement in much the same way that Sontag believes the DLP is the solution to teachers' difficulties. In spite of the "innovativeness" of the one as opposed to the other, both methods are being explicitly or implicitly imposed by the principals in their roles as supervisors of instruction.

There seem to have existed at least two acceptable models of instruction in Sheffield. The innovative model of individualized instruction was definitely preferred, and teachers who participated in this movement were rewarded in various ways, such as receiving summer grants from the Board and increased allotments to their departments. Some of the more traditional teachers, however, were also close to the principal and were supported by him. Dr. Gebhardt tried to influence all the teachers in the school to move in the direction of individualized instruction, but he did not try to demand innovation and measure it by strict standards applied to every teacher, as Mr. Sontag did in Sheridan with his DLP (Developmental Lesson Plan) model of instruction. Dr. Gebhardt's influence over instruction was definite but less direct.

3. Green Valley. We do not have much on Mr. Wyatt talking about his views of himself as a supervisor of instruction, but he does give us an idea of his philosophy on preferred teaching methods. He believes that Large Group Instruction (LGI) is inefficient for high school students and tells the fieldworker that he has not encouraged it. He would ideally have a mixture of structure and anti-structure, a modification of the modular program, and as we learned before, would like to do away with the bell system. However, his lack of influence over this area does nothing to get his ideas implemented, in contrast to Mr. Sontag's demand and enforcement of his educational philosophy based on the Developmental Lesson Plan, and Dr. Gebhardt's desires to implement teacher accountability through self-improvement and evaluation.

Others' views:

1. Sheridan. There is little disagreement that a principal should be the educational leader of the school. Bill Lowry concurred that it is the principal's right to check on instruction. But the methods for carrying out this function, particularly observations and evaluations, are a source of argument; debate centers on the question of what the limits of the role of supervisor of instruction are, and opposition from the union and the teachers in general is often defined around this issue. Paul DiAngelo, the industrial arts teacher, was new to the school when he saw Mr. Sontag in the hall one day and casually invited him inside to see what was going on. Paul later discovered that Mr. Sontag had turned the casual invitation into a formal observation and had written a critique of this class. The critique was based on Paul's use of the Developmental Lesson Plan. The

fieldworker reports that he had just spoken with Paul on this very subject, and had been told by Paul how Mr. Sontag adheres to it and expects it rigidly and fanatically. Mr. Sontag did not write a favorable review of Paul's class, because Paul had not adhered rigidly and fanatically to the DLP, but after having conferred with Paul and his department chairman about the informal nature of the invitation, Mr. Sontag agreed to come back and do another, formal evaluation. Paul taught a tight DLP for this occasion and, upon writing up the second observation, Mr. Sontag destroyed the first. This demonstrates that there is a degree of flexibility on Sontag's approach, although he was unwilling to conceive of any observation of a teacher as anything but a formal experience to be analyzed according to a rigid set of criteria.

2. Sheffield. Assistant Principal tells the researcher that he and the principal will soon be going around and making observations in the classrooms in order to get ready for next year's curriculum. But the assistant principal also said that he didn't think it was a good idea to observe teachers in their classrooms, "that you can't make teachers produce by watching closely over them. This is not a problem in Sheffield because the teachers seem to be doing quite well." ((paraphrase))

When a researcher asked a teacher, "Who disciplines teachers," the teacher responded, "no one does. The only form of discipline is in the form of evaluations and a teacher is never told that they are doing anything wrong until they see it in the evaluation." But in contrast to Sheridan High, where evaluations are the basis for giving unsatisfactory ratings which jeopardize teachers' jobs, the Sheffield teacher tell us "that all teachers are evaluated but the evaluation only counts for new teachers." ((paraphrases)) It is also interesting that this teacher explicitly refers to observations as a form of discipline, rather than as an element of the principal's job of overseeing instruction. But in view of the principal's memorandum referred to in the preceding paragraphs, there seems to be some ambiguity concerning teacher accountability and observation as a form of evaluation in Sheffield. Clearly, the principal is exerting influence on instruction, but teacher observations do not seem to be the chief mechanism he uses.

3. Green Valley. Here, the principal's very qualifications for performing the job of supervising instruction are in question by two of the more influential teachers in the school, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Norton. They tell the researcher how they disagree with Mr. Wyatt's views opposing LGI; Mr. Norton says that Wyatt gets all he knows about teaching from books. 'He's book learned."

We have an account of one incident where a teacher, Sean O'Hare, in conjunction with the fieldworker, set up a rather innovative history class in which the students went out into the community and interviewed its members. The fieldworker observed that this deviation from the normal operation caused concern among the faculty who relayed their concern to Wyatt. Although most of the teachers rarely handed in lesson plans, Wyatt and the Board used this demand as an excuse to bring O'Hare back into line. The standards of instruction in Green Valley thus seem to be defined by local tradition more than by the principal.

Analysis: Thus, we can see in our sample that all three principals see supervising curriculum and instruction as one of the roles attached to their status. Also, in all three, the process of observation and evaluation of teachers (and in the case of Green Valley, the enforcement of lesson plan use), can be viewed as methods of controlling or disciplining teachers, as well as a way of checking up on the non-political aspects of instruction. Mr. Sontag spends a good deal of his time conducting evaluations (in one year he conducted 50 evaluations--an average of more than one per week), and thus chooses this aspect of supervising instruction as one on which he will concentrate a good deal of his energy. Dr. Gebhardt spends much less of his time doing these observations, and if the teacher's statement concerning the fact that evaluations only count for new teachers is correct, we can surmise that Dr. Gebhardt does not consider this element of his role as supervisor of instruction terribly important. What we will discover is that Dr. Gebhardt spends a good deal of time trying to help, even push, his faculty to develop innovative teaching methods and curriculums, and attempting to win over the change resisters through various conferences about and encouragements to accept innovation in instruction. Mr. Wyatt, while he has the formal authority to supervise instruction, seems unable to activate this role, because it is tightly entrenched in the grip of others with less formal authority but more influence (i.e., Mr. Burton, Mr. Green, Mr. Reynolds, and Mr. Norton.) He does exercise his authority, backed up by the Board, to discipline a teacher through the ploy of demanding a lesson plan. In this case, while the intent of Wyatt's move was to discipline a teacher, to control him and bring him back into line, the method for doing so comes formally under Wyatt's role as supervisor of instruction rather than disciplinarian. We may find that this kind of role manipulation is quite a common occurrence in the organization of the high school, and in the educational system as a whole. In New York City, the need for this manipulation is further supported by the literalness of the union contracts, which, in the process of protecting personnel through spelling out exactly the duties and obligations attached to a certain position, allow little room for interpretation. To put it in organizational language, while the school has a multitude of "non-uniform" tasks, that is, tasks that vary from situation to situation and need unique solutions depending on the specific nature of the situation, job descriptions most often outline rights and duties as if the incumbents had to deal only with uniform tasks (which only require standardized rules, since they are repetitious and do not require interpretation. An example in schools of a truly uniform task would be attendance taking).

Mediation and maintaining balance. While it is relatively easy to get data on the mediation function of the principal within the school, it is more difficult to see him in his role as an interorganizational mediator, as this enters into a realm of political sensitivity that is difficult for an observer to gain access to. It is also this interorganizational dimension that is probably unique to the status of principal, whereas intraschool mediation can be accomplished by others as well as the principal. Additionally, the constraints that a particular system places on a principal's freedom to mediate and operate interorganizationally may vary from school system to school system. For instance, in New York City, the principal has relatively free reign as long as he abides by the letter of the contracts and legal rulings. In Sheffield, we have evidence indicating that while the principal says he has complete freedom vis-à-vis the district principal, others in the school say that Dr. Gebhardt must make more accommodations than he would like to allow people to think. In the rural school, Mr. Wyatt says more than once that he is caught between a conservative community and a conservative faculty. In fact, the community is quite active in the affairs of the school. His attempts at curriculum innovation and scheduling changes meet with resistance not only within the school building, but in the community as well. The suburban school does not seem to have the same degree of community involvement in the day to day affairs of the management of the school as seen in the almost carte blanche mandate to the principal to "innovate." The urban school is unzoned, and does not have a local neighborhood from which parents and community could organize.

Incumbents' views:

1. Sheridan. We have an incident here in which we can see the principal as an intraorganizational mediator; we are also told that this kind of mediation can be damaging to the existing lines of authority and responsibility as outlined by the formal organization chart.

Mr. Sontag tells the fieldworker about a situation in which a teacher doesn't like the way his program was set up by his chairman. Sontag telephones the chairman while the plaintiff teacher is sitting in his office. Mr. Sontag "acts it out on the phone," not telling the chairman that the teacher is sitting right by him. Mr. Sontag says to the chairman: "I met so and so and he complained about his program. Is there anything you could do about it?" The chairman replies, "Ok Irwin, I'll take care of it." Mr. Sontag hangs up the phone and says to the teacher, "OK, your problem is solved." Mr. Sontag then tells the observer, "What does the teacher do? The teacher shakes my hand." "Sontag," he says, "You're a great guy." But Mr. Sontag then tells the teacher that this kind of thing undermines the teacher's authority, and it also undermines Sontag's formal authority, in that it confuses it and makes him the department chairman, rather than the principal, all over again. Mr. Sontag then told him, "if you don't like that, what happened, then you have to do certain things on your own." He concludes his remarks to the observer saying that a number of teachers "are beginning to understand that they have to exercise the leadership." ((From an interview with the principal. Some paraphrasing)).

We also know that Mr. Sontag spends some time negotiating with the teachers' union, and in fact, has a number of suits against him. He thus has spent a fair amount of time in court in the past couple of years.

2. Sheffield. Here we have an example of interschool mediation, but no direct incidents in which Dr. Gebhardt mediates between the change-resisters and the innovators, the two main sorting divisions of teachers within the school. It also appears that while the groups are ideologically distinct in the minds of the researchers, they are not as separate as some of the political groupings in the urban school; this might be a function of the smaller size of the suburban school (only 500 as compared with 5075 in the urban school), or of the type of bureaucratic organization (a more organic setting as opposed to a more traditional Weberian model), or both. Thus, while the task of balancing the groups in Sheffield is important, it is not nearly as crucial as dealing with the problems posed by the groupings in the urban school.

> Dr. Gebhardt describes the meetings which the area school principals have each month among themselves, prior to meeting with the Superintendent. He describes the principals' relationships among themselves, and their tactics for formulating decisions which will overrule any decisions the Superintendent may try to formulate. He says, ". . . since we are united, he cannot exploit our differences to make the decisions himself. . . . When we meet with the Superintendent we know how to vote and the Superintendent can be overruled. . . . We also have a nice working relationship among ourselves. . . ."

We can see several things at work here. One is the process of developing and securing a power base among the principals from which to negotiate with the Superintendent. Another is the specific formulation of tactics for formulating decisions and overruling ones the Superintendent might make. Another is the built in aspect of the system, which demands these conferences with the Superintendent each month, and necessitates some type of mediation between the principal and the larger system. We see here how the principal has chosen to perform that mediation function in concert with others in his same status, in order to strengthen the formal authority of the status of principal with some informal influence allowed by the interpretation of his role as mediator.

3. Green Valley. Within the school, Mr. Wyatt appears to have some difficulty performing a mediation function. In order to mediate, a person must have the power to be accepted as a decision maker in other people's affairs. While Wyatt again had the formal authority to make his arbitration stick, he lacked the informal power to actually assume the role of mediator in the first place. In an interview, he presented himself as having no difficulties with anyone except the head of the English Department, Mr. Burton. This would lead us to believe that he was free to act except for that one small area. However, Mr. Burton is the person with

the most informal influence in the school, and is accepted by the staff as the more or less final word on everything from curriculum to general school policy. Interorganizationally, we have an account by the observer, with comments by the principal, concerning certain dilemmas of being in a mediation role.

> Mr. Wyatt has been put on the negotiation board on salary representing the Board of Education. He is serving in an administrative capacity. This is really going to cause a hassle in terms of his loyalties to his teachers. . . . Now Wyatt has been cast in the position of representing the Board. He said to me that "one salvaging factor in this whole business is that I don't do any talking at all. I just sit there and observe." ((Paraphrase))

We see Mr. Wyatt experiencing some role strain here between his role as leader of the school and mediator between teachers and the board. His method of dealing with it, however, is in line with his other approaches to difficult situations. That is, he avoids the consequences of involvement by not taking a stand. He reacted similarly with the smoking issue which we will discuss later, in that while he did take a stand, no one seemed to know that he had, and he did nothing to correct this impression. This seems to have been his tactic for dealing with situations demanding mediation.

1. Sheridan

Others' views: It may be noteworthy that we do not have the opinions of others concerning Mr. Sontag's role as a mediator. We can speculate, with regard to intraschool mediation, that this might be due to a variety of possibilities, including 1) the actors or groups are unwilling to admit that there is a separation that needs mediation; 2) the people in the school see the principal more as an authoritarian decision maker than a mediator; 3) that the fieldworkers need to return and ask specific questions concerning how Mr. Sontag mediates disputes between groups and individuals in the school. With regard to interschool mediation, school staff have the same visibility problem as the observer does, in that they are not privy to the relationships the principal has with higher ups or outsider organizations, with the exception of the organizations they are attached to, such as the unions.

2. Sheffield.

> The principal is discussing with the fieldworker an upcoming assembly in which teachers will go up on stage and hand out awards, which go to various members of the Parent Teachers Organization for their contributions. He said that awards are a good way for teachers to relate to parents, and to improve school/board relations. The researcher observes that Dr. Gebhardt is always taking the public relations stance toward activities in the school and toward his responsibilities in the school.

Returning to the question of the constraints on the principal's ability to mediate and communicate between school and the outside, the fieldworker relates that she spotted a discrepancy between what the principal told us his relationships with the Superintendent were and what they have appeared to us to be:

> The principal made us ((the fieldworkers)) believe that he made the real decisions. The Superintendent, on the contrary, had a tendency to talk of Gebhardt as a junior person who was doing something for 'us,' the school system.

The researcher makes another speculation concerning the principal's role as mediator between outside and insider which illuminates the aspect of the role which calls for the principal to protect his school from outside forces. This "protector" role is a more generalized one, which is often associated with roles of a leader in any situation.

> Dr. Gebhardt told the vice principal that he had met a man at the Kiwanis meeting that day at lunch. He said that this man wants to start projects at the school. He noted somewhat sarcastically that he had tried to discourage this man from getting too involved in school activities. This seems to be one of Dr. Gebhardt's functions, that is, to ward off nosy or interested people from becoming involved in school activities.

We know, then, that the principal at Sheffield is involved with the community organizations in some capacity, possibly more for public relations than to acquire resources. This protection of the school from too much interference can also be seen as a gatekeeping function, and in this sense, deviates a little bit from the formally designated role of mediator with the outside and moves toward the concept of an emergent role. We have already referred to the problem of separating the formal from the emergent roles of the principal status, which is a result of the rather open-ended nature of the limits of the role possibilities which come under the title of principal.

3. Green Valley. We have good material here from a group of teachers concerning how they view Mr. Wyatt's ability to be a mediator, and what they see as the procedures a principal should follow when trying to work out a dispute within a school. A passage from the field notes says:

> Second period I sat with Lloyd, Green, Olson, and later Mr. Kunitz. ((all faculty members, some department chairmen)). They were complaining about the ((smoking)) rules. They said it was the Board's fault, then blamed Wyatt because he's visible. Green made the point that it was ultimately Wyatt's responsibility in the sense that had it been Cromortie ((the former principal)), he would have handled the thing in the school and it would never have gotten to the Board.

We see here first hand that the teachers, including department chairmen, had no idea that Wyatt was responsible for the smoking rules, and only blamed him because he was visible. The smoking issue became a problem only when they moved into the new high school, and there was no longer a luncheonette across the street where the kids could go to smoke. Wyatt never particularly wanted to institute regulations concerning smoking, but there was pressure from the community. Again, quoting the field notes for background information:

> The big stink didn't begin until student representatives appeared before the Board and suggested that formally designated smoking areas be assigned. From that time, the issue escalated and involved the new principal in a test of his ability to control a difficult situation.

Mr. Green's statement referring to the former principal (the one who had been there for 25 years or so), implies that Wyatt should have kept the debate within the confines of the school building. Given the fact, however, that Wyatt does not have local acceptance within the school, and that he lacks the power to assume the role of mediator, his taking the problem out of the arena of the school and into the Board is possibly a strategy on Mr. Wyatt's part for dealing with his lack of in-school influence. We are told by the fieldworker that Wyatt has a good relationship with the district principal, James O'Reilly, and this may be further justification for a strategy of removing the dispute to different boundaries.

Analysis of mediation function: The question of how much time each principal spends being a mediator is difficult to answer. We are rather more dependent on speculations here, but we can say that while Mr. Wyatt is unable to mediate successfully within his school, he does have methods for taking the problem out of the school in order to function as a mediator, even at the expense of his image as a mediator within the school. Wyatt seems to stay in the background of disputes as much as possible.

Sontag, on the other hand, while he appears to do at least some in-school mediation, says that he does not believe in interfering where there are formal lines of authority designated for handling the problem. His mediation between politically opposing groups is a more difficult question, as at least one of the groups in question is the aggregate of administrators (and some teachers) who support him and his policies. Since he is an actor within one of the groups, seen by one as a leader and the others as an enemy, the role of mediator can less aptly be attached to the principal in this situation. Further questions about this role concern Sontag's relationships with the outside.

From all appearances, Sheffield seems to be a somewhat less embattled institution, and Dr. Gebhardt appears to be able to manage ideological differences on his staff at least to the extent of keeping any serious tension well below the surface. He also spends time, probably more time than Sontag, being a public relations man with the community--having lunch at the Kiwanis club, organizing assemblies linking parents and teachers.

How important is this mediation function? We might ask what would happen when this were not effectively carried out. In Green Valley, we know that Mr. Wyatt did not remain with the school after this year of fieldwork. In New York City, the overriding concern from the outside is how well the principal can maintain order within his/her school, and thus the task of mediating disputes would seem to be quite relevant to this concern. In Sheffield, the formation of a power base for dealing with the Superintendent can be seen as one of the more crucial aspects of the mediation role for Gebhardt, as this would allow him at least some mobility in decision making that it is implied is not granted by the Superintendent. In Green Valley, mediation concerns balancing a vocal community, an active Board, and a school that would prefer to keep its problems within its walls. We can presume that mediation is quite important given these elements. In New York City, the principal can declare an "emergency" when disorder reigns, but this carries with it the disadvantage of lowering the image of the principal in the eyes of the Board of Education; the Central Board in New York, while it allows the principal a good deal of autonomy, still has power when there is a question of chaos and danger. In Sheffield, mediation permits a degree of autonomy for the principal which is necessary for the institution to be able to form its own policies and make its own decisions.

Innovation and Policy-making. We have a wide range of role interpretations from one principal to another concerning this duty. In Sheridan, the principal, sometimes acting with the rest of his administration and sometimes acting on his own, makes the policies in the school. In Sheffield, the principal involves the teachers in policy making and tries to make innovation and policy design a shared attempt. In fact, he sometimes verges on pushing his ideas of innovation and, ironically, at collaborative decision-making, on the resisters, in spite of efforts to have the faculty assume responsibility for their own domain. At the other end of the continuum, Wyatt desires to innovate new programs, but is afraid of further antagonizing the English chairman. His attempts at policy making do not meet with success. We have material from the viewpoint of the incumbents; we do not have data from the viewpoint of others. One possible explanation is that when a principal comes up with a strategy for dealing with a situation, it is called a policy, and thus policy making and strategizing are seen by others as an implicit part of the role of principal. In contrast, while teachers all have personal or political strategies for dealing with organizational situations, they have a much more limited ability to make policy, and their strategies are not automatically called policies. In Sheridan, in fact, it would be rare for a teacher's strategy to become policy; in Sheffield, it appears to be more of a possibility, through Dr. Gebhardt's involvement of the faculty in decisions about curriculum.

Incumbents' views:

1. Sheridan. The fieldworker reports that,

> Mr. Sontag sees his job as spurring people to think, to jack them up. He told the fieldworker that he "is a firm believer in building on what is present and not throwing everything out so I took what I had an I've tried to change the thing around."((paraphrase))

We also recall that Sontag sees his job as "moving the school forward" through his policy of observation and evaluation. We know that when he first came to the school, there was no observation going on, and there was pressure from the staff not to press on attendance. In fact, Mr. Sontag instituted policies on both of these issues, so that observations are an important school policy, and checking on attendance of teachers is also a priority instituted by the new principal. The development of his whole system of administrative control of teachers (such as the tear-offs we learned about in the opening event analysis) is another example of his policy-making function.

2. Sheffield. We have several examples of Dr. Gebhardt implementing his policies, which are concerned directly with innovation in the progressive

sense of the word. In a series of memorandums, the principal demonstrates how he involves and encourages participation in policy making. In the first, addressed to all the teachers in the school, the principal asks for their personal opinions on the subject of scheduling mid-year examinations. In two other memos, both to groups of teachers who had made presentations about innovative methods for teaching and instruction, one to the Board of Education and one to the executive committee of the Parent Teachers Organization, the principal thanks the teachers and encourages their ideas and efforts for change.

Another incident shows how the principal uses resources available to him in hopes of convincing a group of change resisters to consider and accept innovative policies. We can also view this as an attempt by the principal to perform a mediation function by trying to close the ideological gap between the innovators and the change resisters. In this situation, Dr. Gebhardt brought in an expert from Teachers College to help the Social Studies department ((the locus of most of the change resisters)) think about institution change in their department. He introduced the professor saying that it was time for change in the social studies program because the Board was convinced that change was necessary and the Board was even considering adding a position. In another discussion with a fieldworker, the principal says that he realizes that change can not be imposed but must come from within. Dr. Gebhardt's strategies for policy making and implementation involve calling on available supports in order to convince a group to accept his policy. However, the net result of his efforts to convince them is that those who get on the bandwagon for innovation and change meet with success in the organization. The slow-to-change social studies department has the worst rooms in the school, according to one teacher, and the department is academically rated as one of the worst in the state, reported another faculty member. Those who institute changes get extra grants from the Board and special positions in the school. For instance, John Forsythe was rewarded for his curriculum work, which he conducted informally for several years, with the formalization of his role into an administrative position, the Curriculum Coordinator. Gebhardt has the formal authority to make his policies stick, but chooses not to do it that way, in contrast to the strategies of Mr. Sontag in the urban school.

We also have an account by Dr. Gebhardt of the process of faculty acceptance of his administrative policy of change:

> Dr. Gebhardt also mentioned that at the faculty advisory committee meeting, the teachers had decided with his encouragement to let the department heads be elected by each department rather than be selected by Dr. Gebhardt or John Forsythe ((curriculum coordinator)). Dr. Gebhardt said that two years ago the teachers would have said no, that they would have refused to take direction from themselves. They would have said to him that this is the job for the principal to select department heads, since he's the person with power and authority. But, Dr. Gebhardt said, things have changed in the school and the teachers are now more willing to accept the democratic process. Dr. Gebhardt said that some of the teachers had said that the choices would probably be the same if the teachers were elected or selected by Dr. Gebhardt. But Dr. Gebhardt said that this was definitely not true, although he did not explain what he meant by this as he had to leave.

While this incident shows how teachers have become involved in making policy (that is, selecting their chairmen), it also shows how Dr. Gebhardt had played the role of policy introducer and innovator, encouraging the teachers to accept this option. We see that teachers were reluctant to assume this responsibility, as they did not see it within their realm to do the selection themselves, in spite of the fact that the chairman of the department has a very direct effect on what the teachers within the department can do. We see that the teachers had a fixed idea of what the role of the principal should be, that is, that he should be the one to select. They were not only reluctant to alter the principal's role, but they were hesitant about taking the step to make policy themselves and assuming that role for themselves. But the irony is that Dr. Gebhardt, in the end, somehow is trying to mandate collaborative decision making.

3. Green Valley. All that we know about Mr. Wyatt's attempts to make policy, introduce innovation, and implement his ideas, is that he was not very successful. We know that he tried to change scheduling, teaching methods, the bell system and failed. We know that he had many innovative ideas, such as modular programming. We suspect that he was afraid to suggest innovation directly to those who had influence; in the case where Wyatt wanted to institute a new program we learn that he suggested to another English teacher that that teacher and Mr. Burton go to a workshop on the new methods needed for the program. He never approached Mr. Burton, and the innovation never got off the ground, if in fact it went any farther than the discussion with the other English teacher.

Analysis of innovation, policy making function: We can postulate that in order for a principal to exercise his formal authority and assume control over his school he must be able to make policy. What this really means is that a principal must be able to take risks, either as a progressive or traditional innovator, and "move the school forward," to quote Mr. Sontag. The making of policy is a recurrent need mandated by the structure of any institution that deals with non-uniform tasks, since rules are not sufficient to deal with contingencies, and therefore general and specific policies for dealing with new and unique situations must be developed by the leadership of the school. The principal, in his role of policy-maker, however, can only be effective if he can induce his staff to implement those policies.

Affective and socioemotional leadership functions. While these functions are probably not explicitly spelled out in organization charts, there is an implicit assumption that a principal should be a "leader." We have covered the elements of leadership that we consider necessary to the accomplishment of certain tasks such as scheduling and order-keeping. There is another side to leadership which deals with the socioemotional roles which leaders assume. These include any behavior which contributes to the harmony, morale, and well-being of the group, and that establishes social and emotional ties between leaders and followers. While the term "socioemotional leader" is often used with reference to an emergent role within a group, and may not be the same person as the formal or appointed leader, we are using the term here to refer to another of the roles which the principal plays.

Incumbents' views:

1. Sheridan. Two of the leader roles which Mr. Sontag assumes concern being a role model, a symbol of high standards, while the third has to do with his visibility and omnipresence in the school. Mr. Sontag

tells the fieldworker that "there is no better way for the principal to build morale than to be seen." ((paraphrase)) We will see the other side of the picture when we come to the paragraph on others' views.

Mr. Sontag sees himself as being a symbol and role model. He says at one point, "I'm not autocratic; I just have high standards." ((paraphrase)) He has rarely missed a day of work in his 20 odd years in the education system, and makes the fact well known. In one incident, Mr. Sontag sees a policeman smoking in the lobby. The field notes read:

> The principal stopped, leaned over, put his hand gently on the cop's elbow. The cop responded, "I was just going out." The principal: "Please do. We can't expect them not to do it if we do it."

Sontag also sees one of his roles as expressing concern for teachers when they are ill. However, he also discusses the dilemma he faces when confronted with the choice of contacting an ill teacher. In one case, his concern was taken as "checking up," while in another case, where he did not contact the teacher, in order to avoid the accusation, he was accused of not caring about his staff.

2. Sheffield. Here we have one of those gems that lights up social scientists' eyes. Dr. Gebhardt informs the two fieldworkers, during a discussion about the delegation of principal functions, that he

> really doesn't think there's a need for a principal since Mr. Chevalier handles discipline and scheduling and Robert Forsythe handles curriculum. But people always want a leader to tell them what to do, so I guess I'm here to be the principal. ((paraphrase))

We can see here that, separate from the functions of task accomplishment in the school, one role of the principal that is needed by those under him is that of being a leader, a figurehead, a direction provider, a decision maker, someone to look up to. It is also an indication of the security of Dr. Gebhardt's position that he can freely say that there is no need for him in terms of task, but only in terms of social need.

3. Green Valley. As can be expected, we have little or no data concerning either Mr. Wyatt's view of himself as a leader or others' views of him in that capacity.

Others' views:

1. Sheridan. We have two instances here of opinions about Sontag as a socioemotional leader. In one incident, the fieldworker was discussing a meeting with a teacher. The fieldworker asked if Mr. Sontag had been at the meeting. The teacher said, "no, but he's always there. He's omnipresent. He's always around." ((paraphrase)) Since the meeting concerned administrative control of teachers and students, we can surmise that this teacher was not terribly approving of this role of the principal's.

Another case shows how an administrator imitates the principal by using the same words to enforce a stand she was taking as department chairman. The incident involved her making a statement about how it was within her right to do such and such. The statement was so similar to an already quoted statement of Mr. Sontag's, that it prompted a teacher to say that it sounded just like the principal.

Analysis. While Mr. Sontag perceives himself as a leader who is building morale, we do not have enough evidence to say for certain whether the majority of the school agrees with his perception of himself. It is likely that a good proportion would not, as we will see in the section on political alliances of teachers. Dr. Gebhardt, on the other hand, is well aware that he is needed to provide this socioemotional leadership; otherwise, he could easily talk the Board out of his job. As we have pointed out, Mr. Wyatt was not able to be a task leader, and given the demands that a principal at least justify his ability to perform those task functions, he certainly could not gather enough support to be trusted as a leader of morale and provider of harmony.

Roles of Administrators

Who is considered an administrator? Each school we studied had a different organizational structure, which classified school personnel differently. The urban school has the most complex structure, and the administration, in addition to the principal, includes four types of assistant principals and their assistants. There is an Assistant Principal for Pupil Personnel Services (Edith Weissman); an Assistant Principal for Administration (Milton Drucker); an Assistant Principal of the Annex; and Assistant Principals for Supervision (all the department chairmen). Like Sheridan, Green Valley separates its department chairmen from its teachers. No assistant principal appears on the organization chart. In Sheffield, the administration includes the principal, the Assistant Principal (Chevalier); the High School Curriculum Coordinator (John Forsythe); the System Curriculum Coordinator; the Coordinator of Student Personnel Services; the Coordinator of Athletics and Drivers Education; and the Head Custodian. For the sake of consistency here, we will deal with the custodian under the heading "support staff" later in the unit. We will generally distinguish between teachers and department chairmen, unless we are talking about the purely instructional and not supervisory aspects of the chairmen's job.

The functions of the administration do not differ greatly from those of the principal, in that it is the job of the administration to implement the policies created by the principal. While just about anything can come under this heading, we will distinguish the accomplishment of the aforementioned principal functions from behaviors which pattern themselves into emergent roles, and function in some additional way to aid the institution or the individual. These might include gatekeeping and institution maintenance. The administrators in each of our schools divide up the necessary tasks in different ways; we are trying to determine how each arrives at the same end with different resources and different personnel, and to discover the implications of the different ways of getting done what is needed to keep the school running smoothly.

Like the section on the roles of the principal, we will begin here with an assessment of the credentials required to attain the status of administrator, and pose questions about the type of local acceptance needed to maintain the status.

Credentials

It is necessary, at least in the urban and rural schools, to have passed certain supervisory examinations in order to assume an administrative position. In the suburban school, department heads can be elected rather than appointed, and any teacher can, in theory, become a chairman if he/she is elected by the members of the department. Perhaps the lack of a licensing examination here is a statement by the school that department chairmen are teachers, not supervisors.

One issue that must be dealt with at this juncture concerns the nature of 'acting' administrators in the urban school. A person who lacks the needed credentials, someone who is not formally acceptable to various groups or powers within the school or system, someone whom the principal would like to include in his coterie of supporters but to whom he will not or cannot make the formal commitment at that stage, or someone who is serving in a temporary substitute capacity, can be appointed on an acting basis; this person is paid on his or her original line, but assumes the duties and a limited amount of the power assigned to the administrative status. According to the field notes from Sheridan (fieldworker speaking):

> What happens is that they said that anybody who is a chairman has to be given a test. So what happens is that when they don't have somebody filling the role, the principal can appoint an acting chairman. What happens is that the acting chairman usually is his puppet and because he has really no powers whatsoever, he can then manipulate this acting chairman. So the term acting principal, acting chairman, is a very deceiving one.

Why is it that the acting administrator turns out to be a puppet of the person he/she was appointed by? One explanation might be that since the acting person has attained the status not through credentials but by the grace of the principal's favoring him or her with the appointment, it is also assumed that the person can be knocked back to his or her original position with much less fuss, if any at all. In order for an acting person to stay where he/she is, he/she must stay in the good graces of the principal. As a matter of fact, we have an interview with the Acting Assistant Principal in Charge of Program. She had originally been the program chairman, but had been elevated to this acting position by the principal. When asked by the fieldworker if the principal could, at any time, get rid of an acting person, Penny Ottman replied that acting personnel exist "at the pleasure of the principal." ((Interview))

There are a good number of acting chairmen in Sheridan. Most are considered to be supporters, even flunkeys, of the principal. The principal himself does not see the distinction between real and acting. In one account, a teacher says, in Mr. Sontag's presence, "oh, he's only an acting chairman anyway." Sontag said, "what's the difference" and made a gesture to indicate that he considered the issue closed. ((paraphrase)). But the fieldworkers heard teachers use that phrase over and over again, and thus we can note a discrepancy in the principal's and the teachers' interpretation of the term "acting." Unfortunately, we don't have any "acting" people's opinions on whether they have less authority and thus less power.

One of the most important people in Sheridan in terms of institutional role playing is Penny Ottman, the Acting Assistant Principal in charge of program. Penny Ottman is actually paid on a teacher line, but she is responsible for all the programming and scheduling for the entire school, no meager task considering the size and complexity of Sheridan. As she said in an interview, "I'm an AP in everything but name and salary." During the fieldwork period, she taught one class a day in social studies, her area of competency, but now teaches none. It is rumored that the New York City Board of Education is considering making the job of scheduling an administrative position all over the city. Penny recently earned an M.S. degree in administration. Since becoming an acting AP she has also gotten her state certification for every position up to and including that of superintendent. Because she acts like an administrator, teaches rarely or not at all, and is in the position of possibly becoming a formal administrator within the next several years, we will discuss her role as programmer under the section on administrative functions, and review her political alliances under the section on teachers.

Local Acceptance

Local acceptance is an important issue for an administrator. Most administrators are appointed or hired by their principals; in the case of acting administrators, they are totally dependent on their principals for their jobs as administrators. Most administrators from our sample have risen through the ranks of the system. Most were teachers originally, although some jumped around from teaching to administrative work. Credentials seem less crucial, even to the initial attainment of the position, than does acceptance by the principal or the power structure within the school. Since the principal has a good deal of control over who he/she appoints to permanent positions, and since administrators seem to come from within the system, the credentials can be acquired while the appointment is in consideration, that is, credentials are necessary for the formal attainment of the status, but in order to be considered for that status in the first place, acceptance is a prerequisite. It is also a necessary requirement for staying in that position, since the main job of the administration is to carry out the policies determined by the leadership of the school and system. In the case of acting administrators, of course, acceptance is absolutely necessary to the endurance of the person in that slot.

1. Sheridan. Being a product of the New York City system and knowing one's way around the policies and people seems to be a great asset in attempting to rise to an administrative position in Sheridan.

Penny Ottman, who began as a per diem substitute in Social Studies 20 years ago, continued on this part time basis for many years, accumulating friends in all departments and at all levels during this time. Her job as a substitute, mainly at Sheridan, was often full time, and her administrative talents were soon recognized and made use of by various people and departments in the school. She tells in an interview how she learned to do transcripts (by hand in those days), run mimeo machines, teach math, English, social studies, anything that was needed. After it had become evident that Penny was coming in often and performing necessary functions, she was offered a full-time position as grade advisor. She talks about how careful she was in this position not to make errors on students' records or diplomas, because, as a parent, she knew that these considerations were of extreme importance to the students and their families. Then the principal died, the AP in charge of Pupil Personnel Services, who had hired Penny, became acting principal, and asked Penny if she would like to become program chairman. Penny accepted, and in September of 1970 started her new job. At the same time, Mr. Sontag began his new job as principal.

Penny Ottman talks in an interview about the people she knew on the way up; that she was friendly with the current chairman of the science department (they had been subs together), and knew many people in the school quite well. She had a well developed support base by the time she became program chairman. The following year, Milton Drucker went on leave for a year, and Sontag rather reluctantly appointed Penny to the acting position, offering it first to some of the department chairmen. But Penny did a superb job of scheduling, and thus on Drucker's return, she remained as an acting AP.

Penny Ottman is a real product of the city system. She went all through elementary, secondary school and college there. She did all her graduate work, except for one semester, in New York City. Her parents were teachers, and her aunt was a principal. Everyone she knew when she was growing up was a teacher. Like Sontag, she feels this is due to the fact that there were only limited options open to Jews during that era, and that is why most teachers today in New York are Jewish.

While administrators need to be accepted by the powers that be in order to act effectively, the principal also needs the administration, not only to implement his policies, but to act as a political support for his decisions and ideas. Penny Ottman says that, while the department chairmen are often not very different from teachers in their attitudes toward work and instruction, Sontag needs the chairmen, because "he gets it from all sides," and needs the support of all of his administrators. His liberal use of the acting category adds to his administrative support.

Another advantage of being in the system is that reorganizations that took place within Sheridan while the old principal was ill, and following his death, demonstrated how those temporary vacancies were filled by existing personnel, who then moved into those posts on a permanent basis when they became available.

2. Sheffield. Again, administrators here have been in the school system for a while. Mr. Chevalier, the Assistant Principal, has been in the local school district since 1956. He started his teaching career here, and up until four years ago, he taught math. At that time, he became the AP of the middle school, and two years later moved into the position of Assistant Principal at the new high school. However, it would appear that years in the system are less important here than they are either in New

York City, where there is a large core of professional system people; or in Green Valley, where the rural standards say that seven years is not very long to be in a school system--that it is generations which count. In contrast, the nature of the suburban community is much more transient and cosmopolitan, and people do not necessarily remain in the same place over time.

3. Green Valley. We have placed most of the emphasis so far on acceptance of administrators by the principal. But in the case of Green Valley, the principal is an outsider, while the person with most of the influence in the school is the chairman of the English Department, Mr. Burton. Because there is no Assistant Principal, the department chairmen have a good deal of administrative influence and authority; in the urban school, there is the feeling that the department chairmen are not quite the administrators that the other AP's are. Mr. Burton has no competition. According to the fieldworker:

> The chairman of the English Department, Mr. Burton, holds a kind of power in the school with both the principal and the school board that no other teacher holds, and his voice is very persuasive among the teachers as well. Mr. Burton has taught in the school for more than thirty years. He is one of the few faculty members who have been part of the school for this long. . . . Although I do not know Mr. Burton's networks outside the school, it is often said that he has important linkages into the community. . . . Since I have never been able to observe him in a meeting with either teachers or administration, my knowledge of his power and influence is hearsay. Still, it has been often during the school year that I have heard that one decision or another was because 'Mr. Burton would never put up with X' or 'It was Mr. Burton's idea.' Mr. Burton has an office next to his classroom, as do all but one of the department chairmen; but, more impressive, he insisted and won a stage built across his room when the school moved from the old to the new building in 1970.

In Mr. Burton's case, acceptance by the principal is not the issue. Acceptance by Mr. Burton, in fact, is necessary for Mr. Wyatt, the principal, to maintain his status.

Administrative Functions and Roles

General rights and duties. Administrators have the right to implement, enforce, and carry out directives issued by the principal. They also, sometimes, have the right to create administrative directives themselves. It is to this group of people that many of the principal functions are delegated, and they are responsible for the accomplishment of these tasks. Roles of administrators vary from position to position, and the same status can have different roles attached to it depending on the school. The Assistant Principal of Sheffield informed the researcher that he attends meetings for Assistant Principals on the county, state, national, and middle-states level. He told her that a

> topic which is always noted on the agenda for these meetings and also for the state meeting is "The Changing Role of Assistant-Vice Principal." From attending these different meetings, he has realized that each assistant principal has a different role in his high school. Each situation is unique.

Scheduling and space allocation. In order for a school to handle large groups of people doing different things at different times during the day, a system for organizing that time and deciding who is to be where, when must be designed and implemented. Most high schools in this country subscribe to similar kinds of scheduling procedures: 40 or 50 minute lock-step periods, students moving from class to class, certain number of periods in the day, homeroom periods where administrative matters are handled.

The person in charge of the scheduling has a lot of potential power in his or her hands, as he/she has the ability to make decisions concerning where students and teachers will be, what they will be doing, and with whom they will be doing it. In the urban school at least, we have direct examples of how the person in this role was able to manipulate teachers' schedules to favor or disfavor various individuals on the faculty. While this was not necessarily malicious, it does show how the performance of a role can have greater institutional effects than were formally intended when the role was created. The suburban school seems tamer, and decisions about scheduling are decided much more flexibly, often depending on socioemotional judgments by the person in charge of scheduling. We do not know the implications of scheduling, which is performed by a senior guidance counselor, in the rural school, although again, the problem concerns a much smaller population and the job of managing it is much less complex than in the urban school.

So what we are really talking about when we talk about scheduling is the control of space and time, and the differential allocation of space and time to individuals within the system.

1. Sheridan. Penny Ottman is responsible for making those decisions about how time and space are allocated in the school. She does all the programming and also reports to the principal on such matters as whether there is a decline in the number of students signing up for various electives. When she became an acting AP, she was put on the executive council of the UFT and the cabinet of the school (the latter is the real policy making body) by Mr. Sontag. She talks about the task of programming in

an interview:

> Every kid's got a program and it all goes from one to eight. I'm always surprised that it works itself out. I just finished building the master. But you do it step by step very skillfully. I mean, I didn't invent this system. I was taught how. You think of groups of kids, where they're going to be, where they are now, how they're going to move, and somehow it works itself out that each kid will fit into a program.

While Penny is responsible for programming students' and teachers' time, and while a student can be inconvenienced by a bad schedule (we met one student who was given four Social Studies classes), there is little conscious manipulation of student schedules. There is a lack of flexibility that may be a function of the size of Sheridan, but there are few political or administrative strategies employed to particularly control students through scheduling. However, in certain instances, teachers are controlled very consciously through the manipulation of their schedules. Our evidence for this statement comes both from reports by the programming incumbent and by reports from others, including those who have been the target of these manipulations. There are several methods for accomplishing this; the main one is to schedule a teacher's class in a time slot that is difficult for the prospective students to fit into their schedules, so that it can be said that enrollment is declining and thus there is less need for that teacher in the school. An account by the principal illuminates the process. Apparently someone had made a mistake and messed up the classes of the head of the science department ((the friend of Ottman's who had served as a sub with her)). In order to right this, Ottman sacrificed the language classes, putting them in a bad time slot so that a lot of students who wanted to were unable to take them. ((Added note: foreign languages are no longer required for graduation, so enrollment has been declining and the whole department is in danger of being eliminated.)) Sontag found out about it and went to Penny Ottman, who said she'd take care of it immediately. Sontag told the fieldworker: "So someone's screwing someone, and I'm going to get to the bottom of that." The fieldworker asked if it was to favor Penny and the science chairman. Sontag said, "Yes. That's one of the things that facilitated it." ((Interview)).

Another incident, taken from an interview with Penny Ottman, shows how programming can be used to implement an administrative order to get rid of someone. In this case, it is the chairman of the secretarial studies department, a person who was brought in by Sontag, but who has gotten into trouble with the UFT in her manner of dealing with her teachers, and carrying out evaluations, and who has a reputation of acting like the principal, although the principal does not think so. In this quote, Penny not only tells us how she is going about carrying out an administrative order, but also how she views the control she has through programming:

> There is a lot of feuding going on, particularly at this time of the year. ((June)). I am part of it because everybody wants something, not from me necessarily but from what I'm able to do in terms of programming, because what I'm giving one, not giving, but the way I arrange the program is positions, it's jobs. Now, another thing I'm doing now and that's something I'm sure you're aware of is killing Patricia Frederickson ((chairman of secretarial studies)). I'm under orders to do that. . . . The union has been after her hide. Sontag, for other reasons, has been after her hide. It seems that one way you get rid of a chairman is to abolish the department, not as such, but if a department goes below a certain number of classes and teachers, there's no legitimate need for a chairman.

Scheduling also relates to the way instruction is carried out in the school. One of Mr. Sontag's main objections to the current scheduling system is that due to the need to prepare grades early enough to manage the administrative work of reporting, promotion, and graduation, grades are in before classes are over, and students know that there is no longer the threat of a grade hanging over their heads. Sontag feels that instruction takes a nose dive here, and according to Penny, nothing happens and it's a demoralizing thing for everybody concerned. Penny worked up a proposal that would permit the entry of final marks the last day of classes. She also points out that computerizing the scheduling would further aggravate the delay in getting grades in, and so opposed the time and energy investment that would be required to change over into a computer system from the mechanical system that now exists.

Finally, scheduling relates to order keeping. Penny tells how it used to be in the old days, when everybody had a fixed schedule.

> Teams and other groups met afterwards and clubs and so on. But it was none of this in and out stuff. And that has a tremendous effect on the tone of the whole building. Attendance was always to a certain extent a problem. But in those days people came to class, and as a per diem sub, not only did they come to school but even if the regular teacher was out, the kids went to the class. And they stayed in the class. ((Interview))

Sontag trusts Penny to manage the scheduling function. While he maintains partial or complete control over just about every other administrative function, he really delegates total responsibility to Penny Ottman in this realm. Penny says:

> He ((Sontag)) knows I do it and he knows it's done well. But he's been saying for four years I've really got to get into programming. . . . But he really should know more about it, because you can't really supervise something, and he is really supervising, without knowing, not the nitty gritty, but some of the problems and some of the aspects of it as it affects other things.

Thus, the job of scheduling in the urban school is a complex task, requiring care and the management of minute detail, but open to manipulation through formal channels. While it would be unfair to say that widespread use is made of this available power, we should try to ask whether the policial significance of this task is peculiar to this particular institution and set of people, or is it that the task itself, that is, control over time and space, lends itself to this kind of manipulation.

2. Sheffield. In contrast to Sheridan, Sheffield is a much smaller school with much less complexity. All the scheduling is handled by the Assistant Principal, Mr. Chevalier. While teachers' programs are also manipulated in this school, it is more often to positive ends, and based on a policy of flexibility. Space is assigned on a personal basis and scheduling is performed on a transactional model, involving the teachers whenever possible. These personal considerations are made possible by the smaller size of this school.

Our observer noted that the Assistant Principal had a large blackboard in his office next to his desk

> that had magnets with little cards stuck on them. On the cards were names of all the teachers and all the classrooms in the building. Mr. Forsyth explained that they use these magnetic cards to figure out the master schedule for the year.
>
> . . . We then discussed the fact that some teachers have their own rooms and some don't. Mr. Forsythe said that this is a sticky situation and that there are different criteria for each teacher and each room. He said that most of the science teachers have fixed rooms.

Other teachers, who do not need to have particular equipment, such as math teachers, get moved around. Mr. Forsythe used this example because he had been a math teacher before becoming an administrator.

Flexible decision making is evident in an incident in which a teacher drops into Mr. Forsythe's office casually one day, and the Assistant Principal asks the teacher when he wants his wildlife class next year. The teacher tells him that he needs an extra period, because so many people want to take the course. This contrasts with the Sheridan experience, where teachers have little input into decisions about their programs, until after the fact, unless they are personal friends or supporters of the administration. This is not to say there is no manipulation occurring in Sheffield. One teacher tells us that the social studies department ((a group who opposes the instructional methods of the principal and administration)) always gets the worst rooms in the school and the worst schedules. So while all is not pure and simple even in a less complicated system, Sheffield generally follows a much more flexible model for scheduling than does Sheridan. Further evidence of this is the admission by the Assistant Principal that the master schedule does not really have direct and specific meaning for every student in the school once the semester begins, that changes and adjustments are made, and you can't always tell where everyone is at a particular time of day. While the same might be true at Sheridan, it is unlikely that an administrator will ever admit this possibility. As a matter of fact, we will demonstrate later under our role of ritual specialist how this is viewed by the administration and by the faculty.

3. Green Valley. As we have said, we do not have much data on how the senior guidance counselor fulfills the role of scheduler. All that we do know is that the principal tried to activate his formal authority in this realm and rearrange the general schedule of the day and failed.

Overseeing instruction.

1. Sheridan. It is generally held that it is the role of the department chairmen to oversee instruction, although as we have seen from Penny Ottman's narrative, scheduling can also affect the way instruction is carried out. The principal outlines what he sees as the role of the chairman, saying "I have instructed the chairmen to give every possible support to teachers. This includes giving them lesson plans, giving them materials, giving them curriculum guides, giving them demonstrations." ((paraphrase)). Thus, in Sheridan one role of the department chairman is as a resource person for the teachers. Another role is that of controller of teachers through control of instructional methods; the chairmen in Sheridan, in addition to the principal, conduct observations on the use of the Developmental Lesson Plan and write up formal evaluations, which are the basis for the satisfactory or unsatisfactory ratings that teachers receive at the end of the year from the administration. Within this controller of instruction role there appears to be a wide latitude of what is acceptable for a chairman to criticize. For instance, Mark Rabin, chairman of the English Department, after having observed Margaret Rossini's class, which our fieldworker judged as rather noisy but certainly directed and well taught, told Rossini that "a quiet atmosphere is a learning atmosphere." ((direct quote))

During the fieldwork period, department chairmen taught only a few classes, and acted largely in their role as supervisors. However, with the recent budget crisis, chairmen are being required to teach a good number of classes, the number increasing as the size of the department decreases.

This could mean that chairmen will be concentrating less on the administrative aspects of their role and more on the teaching end. This also brings up an issue which we will come back to in the last section; the department chairman is the victim of role strain here. While he/she is formally an administrator, supervising teachers, he/she is also a teacher. Often the policies of the administration and the teachers are in conflict. The chairmen belong to the supervisory union ((?)) the CSA, while the teachers belong to the UFT.

2. Sheffield. While the Assistant Principal has formal authority to carry out observations, he does not have too much to do with it, and really does not consider it part of his job. Rather, he sees himself as a mediator between students and teachers. In fact, he once told our observer that he "doesn't believe that evaluations increase productivity, at least not in this school." ((direct quote)).

3. Green Valley. Mr. Burton seems to assume the responsibility for overseeing instruction, not in any formal way, but in that he serves as a role model for many of the younger teachers who look up to him.

Mediation. This is not a function that has been widely delegated to members of the administration, because, as we have pointed out, where mediation between the school and outside is required, it is generally the principal who is required to be present. In some cases, however, other administrators can make ties with the outside, and in more cases, can settle disputes within the school, particularly between students and adults. In Sheridan, Edith Weissman does a good deal of negotiating with outside groups concerning guidance programs. In Sheffield, the Assistant Principal handles disputes between students and adults and sees one of his main roles as the job of handling "relationships with students and also those relationships between students and teachers where there is difficulty between the two types of people." Of course, we also have informal brokers throughout all levels of the school organization, but for the most part the type of mediation we are talking about here is really a job the principal must do himself.

Discipline and Order Keeping. Every adult in the schools seems to have the right to discipline students. In our suburban school, the Assistant Principal has clear responsibility for this function, while in the urban school, department chairmen are seen as instructional disciplinarians. Deans in Sheridan are not administrators, but teachers, and they are entrusted with the general duty of student discipline. In Sheridan, control of teachers is also an issue, and appears to be conducted mostly by the Assistant Principal in charge of Administration, Milton Drucker, and the department chairmen.

Discipline of students:

1. Sheridan. At the meeting of the school cabinet, the fieldworker reports that there was a discussion about the role of the supervisor (department chairman), and how they are supposed to be out in the halls during homerooms (they do not have homerooms) getting students into their classes. This particular brand of order keeping, that is, keeping the halls clear, is one of the major concerns of the principal. This is not an idiosyncratic obsession; it is the fact that he was able to restore order in the school and present an image of the school as orderly and quiet to

the Central Board that he gained his reputation as a successful principal with the top brass of the local educational system.

Penny Ottman expressed a general underlying philosophy concerning the need for order. She said, "Control,I think, is important, not for its own sake, but if anything is going to unsettle children, it's this feeling of tension and uncertainty." ((Interview)) She was referring also, here, to the need for security in New York City schools. So the need for order and control in the school arises not only out of the desire to present the appearance of calm and make instruction possible, but in reaction to real and imagined fears about the question of safety in New York City.

2. Sheffield. In the suburban school, our field notes portray the Assistant Principal as playing various disciplinarian roles. He is the main order-keeper in the school, and considers himself wholly responsible for keeping an eye on the school at all times. He admits to experiencing "role overload" at times; the combined jobs of scheduling and discipline are really too much for one person to handle. Fortunately, there are only several times a year when scheduling is an all-consuming prospect, while order keeping is a daily, year round affair. During one of these intensive scheduling periods, a smoke bomb was set off in the school, and the assistant principal admitted sheepishly to the fieldworker that when he is scheduling, his door is closed, and his ability to watch the school limited.

The Assistant Principal also plays the role of detective, trying to catch thieves, or scare up information. The fieldworker reports:

> He set up one scheme with a student in which he had the student plant a pocket book which she made believe was hers in the locker room, hoping that somebody would try

> to steal it. Earlier in the day, Mr. Chevalier had sprinkled a large amount of this purple powder all over the pocket book. This powder had been obtained from the police department.

But, while the Assistant Principal is responsible for disciplining students, he manages to balance it with his role of being an interface between students and adults, and he is then able to use the good relationships he has with students to obtain information. Mr. Chevalier said, "In the past I could go to specific students for information but the students were formerly in my classes. Now I tap a student whom I know well or someone whom I might have given a break to. Much information comes voluntarily from motivated students." ((Quote)). Thus, Mr. Chevalier manipulates his two roles, balances them, and is able to accomplish both the task of discipline and the task of mediation. In response, a student role can be seen to emerge--the role of informant, a brokering role connecting students to administration. This informant role in turn reinforces the mediator role of the assistant principal, since, in effect, Mr. Chevalier is being a successful bridger of communication.

Mr. Chevalier also plays the role of roving policeman, running around the school, checking out the bathrooms for smoking and other offenses, clearing and policing the halls and other favorite hangout spots for loitering students. The Assistant Prncipal tells the researcher that "he never knows where he'll be at any time of the day." ((Paraphrase)). He said that he sits near the door of the assembly so that he can be reached easily or run out easily if he has to. The researcher notes that whenever she sees Mr. Chevalier, he always seems to be running and he often seems to be on the verge of a crisis and somewhat out of breath.

In comparison with Sheridan where the responsibility for student discipline is diffuse and widespread, the overall responsibility for maintenance of order in Sheffield is centered in one person.

Control of teachers: Earlier, we learned that the only form of discipline for teachers in Sheffield concerned evaluations, and that those only counted for new teachers. Sheridan is quite a different story. Here, teachers' mobility and ability to make decisions for themselves about what they will do and how they will do it are severely limited by a series of administrative policies and attitudes, which are determined and/or implemented by the various Assistant Principals.

Milton Drucker is the Assistant Principal in charge of administration. From his office come many of the rules and notices which keep teachers in line. Our fieldworker reports:

> I had gotten a circular from Mr. Drucker's office which had prescribed the agenda for the faculty meeting. The circular had a back page which broke the teachers up into various discussion groups. The front page was divided into two parts. At the top was a list of seven topics to be discussed at the meetings and at the bottom, separated by a dotted line, was a little slip which read, Dear Mr. Sontag, I was present at the faculty conference held Monday, January 28, 1974. At the bottom of the [illegible] was written "signature of teacher."

These circulars were quite common. They most often contained information and directives regarding deadlines, policies, and teacher responsibility. The administrator here is playing the role of controller. He is controlling (1) the agenda of the faculty conference. He decides, or passes on the decision, about what is to be discussed. Teachers have no input into the determination of the agenda. Anyone who has had experience in organizations knows that he who determines the agenda also controls the limits of what can take place; (2) the allocation of teachers' time, by requiring the tear off. Later we will investigate the effects of this control on the teachers, and the roles the teachers assumed in their attempts to cope with these demands.

Another incident shows how Drucker assumes ownership of policies that he must implement for the principal. Mr. Sontag had ordered that teachers go out on hall patrol ((This usually was requested before vacations, when students are restless, but Sontag was demanding that this be a regular thing)). Teachers were angered by this, and fought the order. It was up to Milton Drucker to carry it through. He sent a letter out to all teachers. The fieldworker notes that one of the interesting things about the letter was the language that was used in it.

> He used words like "deployed, contingency," the whole thing had a lot of these very, it sounded like a military strategy.

Drucker plays the role of military strategist with respect to control of students, and plays the role of policy implementer (controlling what teachers will do with their time) with teachers.

In our first event analysis, you may recall that we noted a teacher role in which teachers behave like students. We have a corresponding administrative role which is called treating teachers like students. One of our fieldworkers observed a meeting of the math department, run by the department chairman, who talked to the teachers as if he were talking to students, reprimanded them for talking and not paying attention, would not allow teachers to talk until he had finished speaking (which did not happen until the period was over), demanded that teachers stay in their seats until the bell. Teachers in Sheridan commonly perceive that they are being treated like children; on the other hand, we have a report from a department chairman who says that the Central Board treats chairmen like children.

Perhaps what we are talking about is larger than the question of control of teachers or control of students. At a conference the researchers attended this past year conducted by the funding agency and attended by both researchers and practitioners, it was mentioned that often everybody in the schools, at every level, feels powerless. Some said that the principal is the only one who escapes this feeling, while others disagreed and said that even he/she was subject to constraints which limited mobility and freedom.

Administrative Functions and Roles: Emergent Roles of Administrators

Administrators play many roles that do not fit traditional categories like scheduling and discipline. The roles we are most interested in are those that can be shown to be necessary to or helpful to the maintenance of the institution. Some of these roles specifically contribute to the implementation of administrative policies, while others merely support underlying philosophies as determined by the Board of Education, the principal, or the community. The concept of maintaining the institution is an idea that has its roots in the tradition of anthropology. Basically, the institution (or society) is seen as having developed a set of working processes and organizational structures which make it into what it is today. While institutions and societies are continually evolving, there are strains toward retaining what exists and conserving what has already been established. This allows the institution to continue about its business without reorganization or continual distrubance.

Gatekeepers. Gatekeeping refers to the process by which access to resources is controlled. The resources involved can be the school building itself. It mostly comes into play here in relation to keeping people out of the school or out of the classroom, but it also concerns who has access to information, how that information is managed by those in control of it, how it is communicated to others, and how much of it is communicated. One hypothesis is that the traditional high school needs to carefully define its boundaries.

1. Sheridan. There are scores of gatekeepers in all departments of Sheridan. Among administrators, everyone is responsible for making sure everyone has the right identification and credentials for being in a specific place at a specific time. The researchers met the gatekeepers of the school early in their fieldwork, as they were outsiders to the school, and had to be admitted through the boundaries by these people. They were required to get notes of admission from Edith Weissman's office (Pupil Personnel Services). One of the first fieldwork observations in Sheridan concerned gatekeeping at the front door, and an administrator who was in the front hall at the time of observation. A girl student comes in and walks off to one side.

> She was confronted by a woman who turned out to be Penny Ottman, an administrator, and a man teacher, as to whether or not she was late or whether or not she was supposed to have a pass. . . . What happened was that the girl opened her notebook and took out a slip of paper which got her by. Penny said "you may go" and then turned around and said, "That girl now has carte blanche to cut any period of the day because of that slip." Meanwhile several people came in who were asked "Are you late?" and they went and filled out late passes. Others came in and were asked, "Are you late?" and kept walking or just said no and turned around and kept walking and they were not pursued in any way.

But more crucial than controlling student admission to the school is controlling outsiders' admission. A department chairman expressed the attitude of the administration on this subject when he told the fieldworker that for somebody to come in off the street was strictly taboo.

The main physical gatekeepers in Sheridan are the support staff of security guards and school aides, but administrators do a lot of gatekeeping themselves. This is a role that most play when the situation arises.

2. Green Valley. Possibly because Green Valley is a much smaller school, the Sheridan type of gatekeeping is less obvious here. What we do see is an incident where the fieldworker is attempting to gain entry and easy access at the site. Ralph Green, the chairman of the math and science department, introduces her to the faculty. When the fieldworker suggests that she visit other teachers in the department, Green says, "Wait until they have seen you with me in my class" and tells her that he would like to schedule a department meeting to introduce the fieldworkers and have them explain what they are doing. In this case, he is not only controlling the fieldworker's access to other people in the school, but he is making decisions about how other people will have access to the fieldworker. By having others see the researcher with him, he is, on the one hand, allowing his position to lend credibility to the outsider, but he is also allying the researcher with him, attempting to create an association in the eyes of other faculty which says, "This is mine; you have to go through me to get it."

Institution maintainers. Most of our data in this section comes from Sheridan. There are at least three emergent roles which stand out, two of which are fulfilled by the same person. Other people in the school may assume these roles at times, but these two women are probably the best representatives on the staff.

Expert Bureaucrat. Penny Ottman is the person in the administration who epitomizes the operations which are necessary to making the school run efficiently and effectively. She is a maintainer of rules and a competent businessperson. She makes sure procedures are carried out correctly and forms are filled in properly. Penny says in an interview: ". . . Administrative efficiency . . . is important because a school can go downhill very very fast if everything is all bollixed up in terms of schedules and so on." She also makes sure that union contracts are being followed, so that the administration does not get caught in a union fight. Our observer reports on an administrative meeting:

> The next item . . . was the question of where the programs are and everything. So Penny started to talk about the program changes and that there are classes in excess of 34. The union contract states that 34 only can be in a class. So she has to be very judicious in terms of putting kids in above the number of 34. . . .

Thus, Penny Ottman makes sure that the rules of the organization are followed as closely as she can control them, protects the institution from attack by making certain that union requirements are met, requires uniform application of rules for maximum efficiency, and generally helps the institution to run smoothly.

Institution Expert. Another of Penny Ottman's roles is that of institution expert. She has been in and around Sheridan in various capacities for 20 years. She knows everyone, and just about everything about the school. She knows how it used to be and how it is now. She knew it originally from the teachers' viewpoint, and she now knows it from the administration's viewpoint. She has strong ideas about what the school should be and how people in it should act, and her position as insider carries a good deal of influence in seeing her philosophies represented. In an interview, Penny says:

> You know, people have to decide what schools are for and nobody has really thought about that very much. Are we a babysitting operation to keep kids off the job market? If we are, we're overpaid for that. Are we, as I say, if we're supposed to be therapists, we're not doing a heck of a good job and nor are we capable of doing it. I always thought that school was a place in which people who could conceivably take advantage of our know-how would be taught attitudes, skills, and so on. That's the way I envision. . . I'm very traditional and I'm frank to admit it. So I have serious reservations about rapping and calling a teacher by the first name and smoking. It's nice but you should be learning something, too. That's the way I feel. There should be some educational outcomes and the other is not enough. We're not a rehabilitation center. Let somebody else . . . I mean I don't see that as a function of the school. It's necessary to have kids in school who feel comfortable and I can understand that some of them feel better sitting in a circle or whatever, you know, if they can't stand the rigidity that I happen to like. I mean each person can do his own thing, but I would insist in any program that somebody should be learning something of value. Now, the routes to the learning can vary, but I would think that learning is an essential outcome. And just coming to school is not enough. It's a beginning, but it's only the first step.

But although Penny Ottman is a carrier of the party line and justifies the school's instructional policy, it should be pointed out that she has no direct influence over instructional methods or classroom organization. She does have direct power over allocation of space, but she does not have a position in the formal lines of authority controlling classroom policy.

Ritual Specialist. A ritual specialist is someone who interprets the rules. There are two kinds of ritual specialists--one who has the power to make his or her interpretations stick, and one who does not have that power. In Edith Weissman, we have the former kind. She is the Number 1 Ritual Specialist of the school, and we see examples of her rule interpretation again and again. She has the power to make her interpretations stick, even when the reality of the situation is in direct contradiction to her interpretations. While everyone is at some time a ritual specialist, saying 'That's not the way things are done here,' or 'This is the way things are done here,' Edith Weissman is the most successful. As a ritual specialist, she functions to make the administrative interpretations of policies and rules stick, thereby supporting the institution as it is determined by the leadership. It was the opinion of our fieldworkers that Edith Weissman is the second most powerful person in the school, behind only Sontag.

We saw several examples of Edith Weissman's ritual specialist role in the beginning event analysis. In addition to those accounts about tracking and placement of behavior problems in slow learner classes, we have another account in which a teacher mentions that two students were rather confused about where they fit into a reading clinic, since the students seemed to not have programs.

> Mrs. Weissman said she'd be glad to look into the matter if he gave her the names. She said there's no such animal walking around. Everyone has a program.

Mrs. Weissman announces that everyone has a program when confronted with the possibility that someone might not. There is no admission that this could be the case. It is an impossible occurrence in the institution, thus it does not happen. That this is an administrative 'line' can be seen in the interview with Penny Ottman, in which Penny says "Every kid's got a program." This is food for the ritual specialist.

In another example of just how influential her interpretations are, Edith Weissman argues with the principal. Mr. Sontag claims that department chairmen are not responsible for discipline, but Edith Weissman's interpretation that the chairmen are the first line of defense for instructional discipline prevails.

If we look at the school as a total institution that has a structure with rules and established procedures, we can view the ritual specialist as someone supporting the maintenance of those established rules and procedures.

Roles of Teachers

This section will follow the same general format as that of the first two, but there will be an additional part detailing the political groupings of teachers in the school, that is, the way teachers sort themselves in response to the demands of the institution. The political roles that teachers assume illuminate the way in which roles emerge in response to certain needs that the institution has or that are not being met by the institution. We will also see how roles can be viewed as pairings of complementary behaviors.

Credentials

Licensing credentials are necessary to get teaching positions nowadays. At one time, the teacher shortage made it possible to become a teacher without elaborate procedures. Licensing requirements came about as a means of protecting job security for teachers, but are now also a means for limiting the teacher supply, which is now in surplus. In New York City the recent budget cuts will further affect this licensing question, as schools in the city will be excessing teachers who are teaching out of license, that is, teaching in a subject other than the one in which they got their license. A number of teachers in the urban school have graduate degrees, including several with doctorates. Some of those holding doctorates in Sheridan have told our observers that they would really prefer college teaching, but have taken high school jobs in default of not being able to find university positions. In Green Valley, many teachers also expressed to our researcher feelings of insecurity about licensing. There was a licensing scare at the end of the year of our field work in Green Valley, when new regulations were created adding new requirements for teaching licenses. Several Green Valley teachers were planning to use their summer vacations to make up the additional requirements. In all three schools, now, state certification is required in order to be a teacher. While graduate degrees may serve to enhance the image of the institution, at least in the suburban and rural schools, teachers with graduate degrees are in a higher pay scale, which means that the school is paying for the degree, while not necessarily getting additional teacher services for the money. As we saw in the event analysis (in the case of Margaret Rossini), there may be personal advantages to a teacher in holding an advanced degree. These advantages are usually conferred informally, but the extra leverage sometimes available to a doctorate-holding teacher are congruent with the bureaucratic principle of merit. This was the case in several instances in Green Valley. The situation of a teacher holding a more advanced degree than his/her supervisor illustrates the fact that there may exist within an organization different and sometimes conflicting scales of merit, which may have to be manipulated one against the other in the determination of actual influence (as opposed to formal authority) in the organization.

Local Acceptance

The procedure for being hired as a teacher in New York City places constraints on how many jobs a teacher can turn down, and how many years he/she must stay with a job. A teacher at Sheridan talking to a substitute teacher tells him the advantages of being on appointment and having a regular salary and benefits.

> The substitute teacher indicated that he did not at this time want to tie himself down to a job for five years. Mort Hyman exhorted him strongly that if he didn't do that, he would be injuring himself and mentioned the rule that if a teacher refuses three offered jobs in the New York City school system, he loses his license to teach in the school system.

Local acceptance for a teacher is both a matter of accommodating oneself to the rigor of the system's regulations and a question of amassing support. The system appoints on the basis of credentials, and requires a teacher to remain with his/her first appointment for five years. But not only can a teacher not refuse more than three job offers, but a principal to whom the teacher is assigned can only turn down three people on the list. Later in the above conversation, Mr. Hyman alleges that the principal at Sheridan gets around this limitation by threatening the first three applicants if he does not like them, and basically scaring them off. Once a teacher receives an appointment, he/she is protected, if he/she joins, by the UFT. 95% of Sheridan teachers are members, although most are not active. A teacher still must gain acceptance by the powers that be, however, which means the department chairmen as well as other members of the administration. The principal can get rid of a teacher by giving out an unsatisfactory rating. Henry Mazur, a social studies teacher, tells how his position became much more secure after he had a relative of the AP, Edith Weissman, as a student in his class. The student had liked Mazur and reported back to Weissman.

A Green Valley administrator, Jeffrey Allen, who is the district clerk, the treasurer and business assistant, told the fieldworker, when she asked about the large number of out-of-town teachers, "that it was far better to have them from places outside because 'you can never get rid of the locals.'" Our fieldworker concluded that it is not necessarily an advantage, as it is in New York City, to have come up through the ranks of the system in order to get the job. But in order to succeed and remain in the Green Valley system, we have to look at the teachers who are successful. Mr. Burton is, as we know, a longstanding faculty member, who, while he was not from the immediate district, was from the general area when he started teaching 25 or 30 years ago. The field notes also mention a teacher who was unable to stand up to the teasing of two of the other teachers as having been replaced by a more aggressive 'local' boy.

The homogeneity of the rural community might also contribute to who is acceptable and who is not, as might also the strong emphasis on athletics and the de-emphasis of academia in the school. It is assumed that a coaching ability is more of an asset than a graduate degree, given the relative importance of each in the school. The athletic program in Green Valley is an important source of extra revenue.

Functions and Roles of Teachers

Based on our examinations and comparisons of data from three schools, we are postulating that there are at least six formally designated functions that teachers are expected to perform. These include:

a. instruction

b. supervision of students (in and outside of the classroom)

c. evaluation of students

d. record keeping

e. socialization of students--the development of acceptable attitudes

f. implementation of administrative policies

Again, we will present the perceptions of how these roles are to be fulfilled from both the incumbents' views and others' views.

General Rights and Duties of Teachers

What is expected of a teacher? What do people consider typical or stereotypical teacher behavior?

Incumbents' views: Bill Lowry from Sheridan expressed a widely heard opinion about what a teacher should be:

> I personally love people and I love kids and I feel warm toward them and I think that that's a basic fundamental prerequisite for teaching, the ability to love the kid, no matter who the child is. ((interview))

Another teacher from Sheridan, Maggie Corwin, relates an experience to the fieldworker in which she found herself acting 'like a teacher':

> Then she started telling me that that morning she had heard herself yelling at the kids. She said, "all of a sudden I heard myself talking and realized I was only using, you know, teacher words. I had to do it. He was carving the desk right in front of me challenging me to do it. So I had to say something. It's not like I didn't use to carve on the desks, but he was doing it right in front of me." Then we discussed the traditional classroom structure for a while. She said, "You know, I teach in three departments so I have a travelling program and I have a lot of trouble getting to my class on time. I used to see the kids running down the halls ahead of me trying to beat me into the classroom. So I went inside and I told them this is babyish. You don't have to act like that. I don't care if you're in your seats when I get into the classroom or if you're talking. But you don't have to run like that." She said she had been very apprehensive when she said that and would not have done so when she first started teaching. But she said, "I've had no trouble since that."

Notice that Maggie says that the student was carving the desk right in front of her, challenging her to yell at him and making her act like a teacher. The expectations of others are demanding that Maggie respond in her role as teacher (disciplinarian, protector of school property,). She is responding as a social actor, not as an individual, and assumes the rights and duties attached to her role in response to another social actor (boy as student) playing his role. We have a pair of complementary behaviors here, where the role played by the student demands a corresponding role to be played by the teacher.

Others' views: The Green Valley principal echoes Bill Lowry's statement, saying that he thinks the most important ingredient in a teacher is warmth.

Another commonly heard phrase is that, while the principal has free reign within the walls of his school, the teacher has similar rights within his/her classroom. "Once that door is closed, the classroom belongs to the teacher." This may be less than completely true, however, in Sheridan, where the threat that the principal or department chairman may pop in at any time to observe the teacher and comment on his/her use of the developmental lesson plan is constant.

The fieldworker also noted instances where he saw people 'acting like teachers.' In one music class he observed, he says that,

> the Spanish boy with the t-shirt who had offered me the piano was the only student in the room not playing an instrument. He sat over near the clarinetist and occasionally would pretend he was the teacher, telling people what to do.

So another general role of a teacher is that of director, telling people what to do.

The fieldworker observes another incident in which he describes a teacher who is just playing at his role, and gives us an idea of what people think a teacher does. At the beginning of the period, the teacher chalks an outline on the blackboard, and then follows the prescription of the developmental lesson plan of asking questions and eliciting responses:

> The class went on in this manner and by the end of the period, no new information, that is, information different from what had been written on the board at the beginning of the period was introduced by anyone, student or teacher. The teacher asked some questions, quibbled with some of the answers, waited for long pauses between answers and between his own questions. In fact, the impression that I got was unmistakably that the teacher himself had not prepared the lesson for the day and knew nothing more than the outline that he had written on the board at the beginning of the period.

Role of the Instructor

In each of the three schools in our sample, the way the role of instructor was perceived was determined by the preferred method of instruction. Teachers were expected to behave in certain ways according to the demands of the preferred method.

1. Sheridan. The Developmental Lesson Plan is king here, demanded by the principal of all teachers. This plan sets out an aim for each lesson, which must be written on the board at the beginning of the period. It lists a set of directives on how to go about accomplishing the aim. The main role of the teacher under this method is that of motivator and questioner, as the main technique is for the teacher to ask questions of and elicit responses from the student.

2. Sheffield. We have two prevailing modes of instruction. The principal favors innovative methods such as individualized instruction. This requires that a teacher be a communicator and a listener. It calls for flexibility and an ability to manage a group of students who are doing

different things at different speeds. The other mode of instruction follows more traditional lines, putting the teacher in the role of lecturer, tester, drill sergeant.

3. Green Valley. Most teachers in Green Valley maintain a traditional classroom style, doctored up by a growing use of audio-visual materials and programmed learning sets. Attempts by O'Hare, a social studies teacher, to institute innovative teaching methods met with resistance from the principal. The English chairman, Burton, who dominates the school, claims that individualized instruction is just another name for what he has been doing all along. Due to his influential position, he is not afraid to institute interesting and innovative teaching methods. Although Wyatt does not believe in large group instruction for high schools, Reynolds and Norton use this method at times as part of their team teaching.

Procedural note: In previous sections, we have separated views on particular roles according to each school in our sample. What becomes evident in our section on teacher roles is that the differences are not all that clear; in spite of differing expectations of instructional behavior according to preferred instructional methods, there appears to be a great deal more consensus across sites concerning what the role of the teacher should be and what the role really is. While roles do vary according to the bureaucratic structures, the purely task oriented and non-political teacher roles appear to be much less susceptible to divergence across sites. Thus, in our discussion of performance of duties, we will arrange the incidents in logical progression according to theme rather than school. The next section, concerning political sorting patterns in each school and corresponding emergent roles, will naturally be organized by site, as cross site analysis will be crucial in determining the effects of different types of organizational structures on roles and groupings in the school.

Incumbents' views: We have little direct data from teachers concerning how they view their role as instructors.

Others' views: Mr. Sontag expressed the opinion that one of the main instructional goals of the teacher is to raise reading scores. The quality of New York schools is judged according to how high the reading scores are and how much higher they were this year than last; thus, the teacher performs a crucial function not only in terms of the students whose score he/she is raising, but also in terms of the principal's image in the eyes of the Board of Education. If reading scores go up, so will his reputation.

The chairman of the science department, Dorothy Henderson, posited that "a teacher should be the one who answers questions rather than asks them." She referred to a teacher as a resource person. ((paraphrase)) Here we have an interesting administrative role, which crops up over and over again, sometimes in its own right, as "institution maintainer" and sometimes in response to particular situations or in complement to corresponding roles. Dorothy Henderson, who is a supporter of the principal and his policies and a good friend of Penny Ottman, may have quarrels with the method of the developmental lesson plan (teacher asks, students answer). But her disagreement is not serious enough for her to challenge the existing system. What her comment does serve to do is to defuse protest against this administrative policy by getting in her criticism first, and thereby coopting the teachers' line. Thus, whether she actually disagrees with the method is not the issue here; what is important is that she is actually functioning to help the existing system prevail. This cooptation role occurs throughout the administrative level of Sheridan (and probably throughout the other schools as well); we already have seen an example of it with Milton Drucker in the event analysis at the start of this unit, where he challenges the faculty conference to justify why they have not considered the constraints that lock step programming places on instruction of slow learners. This can be seen as cooptation because what he is really saying is that the teachers have not played their roles as radicals and dissenters, and have been afraid to buck the traditional order. So he is doing it first. The actual effect of this is, again, to defuse the truly existing opposition to administrative and system policies.

Role of Supervisor of Students

There is a general attitude in our three schools that rules and control mechanisms are necessary for dealing with students in class and out. Part of this belief is predicated on the assumption that it is within the rights and duties of a teacher and in accordance with the in loco parentis nature of the school, to act as an imposer of regulations about what is acceptable behavior. That is, the teacher is seen as having the right to define the limits of what a student is permitted to do and the roles he is permitted to play.

Incumbents' views: That rules and regulations are necessary to control a class and permit instruction to take place was explicitly stated by a teacher from Green Valley, but this view also seems to be held by teachers in all three schools, judging from the observations of classes by our fieldworkers. A supporting attitude comes from the health teacher of Sheffield, Mr. Carse:

> Discipline is the core of education. One cannot teach anything if one is not holding the class in hand. Our educators are people with Ed.D.'s and like that but what can you know about education from books? They never talk about discipline. The word doesn't even appear. These are the people who have taught a year and found they couldn't handle students and they come and tell us how to go about teaching. ((paraphrase))

Not only is discipline an important function of a teacher, but a teacher is not proven until he/she succeeds in fulfilling the role of supervisor and controller of students.

Another Sheffield teacher, speaking about the problems of the recently instituted 9-week cycles of courses, says that "you must establish leadership strongly at the beginning, because you only have the students for nine weeks." ((direct quote)) He further believes that students cannot really be expected to behave properly and responsibly if a teacher is not in the classroom acting as a supervisor; he relates a disciplinary situation that had occurred that day in which a teacher had been in a meeting and the students who remained behind in his classroom "were horsing around and sort of fighting with each other. But you can't really blame them because there was no teacher there." ((paraphrase)). Thus, again, we have two roles corresponding and responding to one another; the teacher acting as supervisor and having certain expectations of the way students will act when he is present or in absentia, and the students conforming to the teacher's role expectations of them.

2

The other side of the issue is presented by a Sheridan teacher. In a faculty meeting on the topic of how to deal with students who do not fulfill teacher expectations about students' rights and duties (student who does not pay attention in class, student who calls out answers, student who does not hand in homework, etc.), the teacher says,

> Well, my first impulse is to punish someone who shows up without homework. But on second impulse I think, wait a minute. What are we here for? To assert authority or to facilitate learning? ((paraphrase))

Supervision outside of the classroom and general school security is a realm in which teachers have mixed feelings about their roles. Many feel that various supervisory duties, such as bathroom and hall patrols, compromise their roles inside the classroom, and place too much emphasis on the disciplinarian role. In Sheridan, this opposition can be justified by the setup determined by the formal organization chart, which designates security guards and school aides as having responsibility for patrols and order keeping throughout the non-classroom areas of the school. In Sheffield, however, a debate over who was to patrol the bathrooms resulted in a protest by the teachers that this caused them role strain, and the school eventually hired a second school nurse and explicitly included in her duties the patrol of the bathrooms.

But Sheridan also places the task of outlining so-called "security" procedures to the students on the teachers. In fact, these measures are means of controlling where a student can be and what a student can do.

The following speech, narrated by the fieldworker, is being made by a teacher at the very beginning of the semester:

> After assigning the numbers, the teacher began her spiel. She said the purpose of orientation is that everyone, students and faculty, knows what is expected of him. She began going through the rules. 16 cuts, she said, means a grade of 30. The subject teacher has no control over this. If you have 16 cuts, you have to be given a 30. She explained pink slips. She said on your third lateness, a pink slip has to be given you to refer you to the dean. You have to go down and get a lecture. One of the students said why, man? as if this were ridiculous. She said the reason is security. If you're in the hall without a pass and without a reason, you're setting yourself up for quite an unpleasant situation.

Similar speeches were being made in every classroom on this first day. The teachers had been assigned this task in a circular from Mr. Drucker, the AP.

Others' views: The Sheffield Assistant Principal, who oversees discipline throughout the school, views the role of the teacher as a controller of students' space, and at the same time shows us that their role is determined by a policy which comes from above:

> Teachers do not have the right to let students leave school or even leave the classrooms. Their responsibilities are to keep students in the classroom. Only I can let a student out. ((paraphrase))

Not surprisingly, students often think that the teacher role as supervisor and disciplinarian of students is overemphasized. A Sheffield student said that the problem with teachers is "give anybody authority and they think they are God." ((direct quote)) This poses a macro-level and somewhat rhetorical set of questions, such as:

1) Can schools be structured differently, so that order is no longer a question of one individual's or group's control over another?

2) Is it possible, advisable, or functional to have a situation in which students are not seen as large chaotic aggregates into which order must be instituted?

3) Can an institution such as a school have its needs fulfilled without placing controls over its staff?

4) How would one go about considering these problems, and what kinds of changes in structure and organization would need to be made to redesign the social system?

These questions should be kept in mind as we relate the next incident, which took place in Steve Henson's art class at Sheridan. Notice the complementary student/teacher roles here, and the attempt by the student to step out of her identity as social actor and assume her position as non-role-playing individual. She attempts to question the existing set of relationships and role expectations, but is brought back into line by the unwillingness of the teacher to drop his correspondent role. It should also be noted that the fieldworker had talked with the art teacher prior to sitting in on his class, and found him to be a rather un-rigid and personable fellow when they had talked in the teachers' cafeteria. The fieldworker observes in his notes:

> While the teacher was still calling the roll, a black girl named Shirley came in the room late. He asked her where she had been. She hesitated for a minute and then said, I was talking to a teacher. Mr. Henson paused a moment and then said, which teacher? Shirley didn't reply. Then, as if this were the answer he had expected all along, he said, you can't remember the name, huh? He said this in such a sarcastic way that the girl responded all of a sudden. She sputtered out, why do you go through that? If I didn't say that, we would just make some other kind of bullshit up, wouldn't we? Only the last part of her sentence was buried, and he said, what

> did you say? She repeated, it would just be some other bullshit. Immediately he said, ok, that's it. Let's go to the dean.

Shirley is playing the role of truth teller and reality tester here. She attempts to drop the imposed behavior expectations by pointing out that it is a kind of charade to try to pretend that she has an excuse. But her responses are a threat to the teacher's role as disciplinarian and maintainer of the system; if the teacher admits that it would, in fact, be some other kind of bullshit, he is confirming the idea that there is something different going on in this situation than what the system says is going on. The student tries to talk about what is really happening, and her perceptions are very similar to the kind that a researcher is looking for when he/she observes a situation.

In earlier sections, we have run through the duties that are formally attached to a particular status, and commented on how they are performed by various incuments. However, such tasks as evaluation of students (grading), and record keeping, are rather standard demands from one traditional high school to another. We prefer to concentrate here on some of the roles which accompany the performance of these tasks. Maintaining social distance, which we will discuss in the ensuing section, while it does not directly accomplish a task assigned to teachers, is seen by many people in all three schools as a necessary component of the teacher-student relationship. Furthermore, this social distance supports the structure of the school in that it maintains the formal distinctions between levels in the organization chart, separating students from teachers from administrators from support staff.

The job of socializing children and helping them to accept attitudes consistent with the cultural expectations of the larger society pervades all of the functions a teacher is supposed to perform. Socialization is a continuous process, and occurs in the school through the sanctioning of certain kinds of behavior and attitudes, disapproval and control of what are considered deviant or unacceptable behavior and attitudes. Teachers are in a position to be direct socializers by virtue of their positions of authority over students in instructional and disciplinary affairs.

Maintaining Social Distance

Teachers and others in both the urban and suburban schools subscribe to the necessity of keeping a certain distance between teachers and students. In Green Valley, however, while this distance is generally maintained within the classroom, the relationships outside of class generally cross the limits that are defined by the urban and suburban teachers.

Incumbents' views: In Sheffield, a teacher tells the researcher that:

> teachers feel they have to put up a facade, act formally with students, because that's what's expected of a teacher in a school. . . . In turn, students as children are raised to think that they can only be so friendly with teachers and that they have to show a certain front for teachers which they don't necessarily have to show for other adults of that age. ((direct quote))

Teachers feel that they must act with formality because of the school's expectations of what is acceptable behavior for them, and this set of controls carries down the line to the students, who fulfill a complementary role by responding to the expectations of formality which they have been socialized to accept. This also points up the fact that teachers are separated from other adults in that their status as teacher creates additional role expectations from children besides those normally demanded of children by adults.

Jack Damon, another Sheffield teacher, is well liked by his students, but also feels that he must be a maintainer of social distance. He tells the researcher that he had gone into the city to see Pancho Gonzalez play tennis, and when some of the students had heard about this, asked if he would like to meet them for dinner in a restaurant. The fieldworker reports that:

> Damon dclined the offer and explained to me that he thought that it was inappropriate for a teacher to go out to dinner like that with students. He said that he is often asked by students to come out with them but that he has rarely ever consented to join them. He said that it's very important that the teacher be able to maintain an informal and friendly relationship with students while remaining aloof from them at the same time. He said that friendship with students is different from friendship with other people and that a teacher can't get too involved in the lives of students.

If we refer back to the unit on types of bureaucratic structures, we will recall that one of the organizing principles of Weberian bureaucracy is that of impersonality, the idea that rules should be applied consistently to all people. The maintenance of social distance can be seen as an extension of this impersonality. If a teacher were to become friends with students, he would be forced to drop some of his teacher role-playing behavior, and act according to a different set of rights and duties. Maintaining distance allows a teacher to be disciplinarian, supervisor, director, and instructor, without experiencing role strain. Putting in an element of personal relationship could function to upset student expectations of the teacher's role, and thus could inhibit the performance of the teacher's functions as designated by the formal structure of the school and educational system.

Penny Ottman, our half-teacher, half-administrator from Sheridan, is well known for her opinions on this subject. She feels that "a teacher is a teacher and not a friend and a teacher should not be on a first name basis with a student." ((paraphrase)) She says in an interview that she has always felt that:

> a teacher should look like a teacher, sound like a teacher, and be a teacher in the best possible way. So I'm not a parent to the kids. I'm a friend of a special kind. That's all.

Teachers are not only concerned with fulfilling their roles as maintainers of social distance because they expect it of themselves; we are told that the administration has definite expectations of its own from teachers. A teacher in Sheffield told the researcher that he has heard that the administration frowns upon teachers being too friendly with students.

Others' views: Tentatively supporting what the Sheffield teacher above reports, the Sheffield researcher observed in her field notes that:

> it seems that the younger, hipper teachers who act too friendly with the kids are somehow moved out of the school.

She made this speculation after having discovered that a certain math teacher who was quite close to his students had not been offered his job back for the next year. Because we do not know the whole story behind the teacher's dismissal, we cannot automatically assume that the issue of social distance was somehow a causal factor in the situation. While this points out to the reader some of the caution that the researcher must have in formulating judgments and making conclusions, it should also shed light on the need to make heuristic hypotheses in order to understand what is really going on. These hypotheses then need to be tested for positive and negative examples, and then reformulated or further refined before drawing any causal conclusions. In this case, the many statements concerning the necessity of maintaining social distance between teacher and student are one kind of evidence supporting this hypothesis about the circumstances of the math teacher's removal.

Students, as we pointed out earlier, are not merely victims of social distancing by teachers. They are often socialized, just as adults are socialized, into the belief that this is the way it should be and is. Students are often more conservative than adults about what can be done in a school, possibly because their perceptions of alternatives and options is limited by their lack of experience or vision that things can be any different than they are. One student from Sheridan spoke about a teacher who had told his students to call him by his first name. The student says that the kids sort of turned the class into more of a zoo because they had less respect for the teacher in the class. Here is a good example of the student supporting the roles of the teacher as supervisor, controller, and authority figure; the student believes that the teacher must maintain his separation in order to successfully accomplish his functions. The students in the class, in response to the role confusion of the teacher, become somewhat anarchical and take over the class which the teacher has forfeited because he has not played by the rules (and roles) of the game.

But another student from Sheridan gives us the other side of the picture. This student happened to have been an excellent informant, because she had gone to a private school all her life where life was very different than in a traditional public school. She transferred to Sheridan because she wanted to be a part of the "real world." A rather rude awakening awaited her there, because while at the private school the explicit goals of education and instruction had been quite reasonably and logically accomplished (with plenty of time for reading, learning, questioning, and individual interaction), Sheridan presented a much more complex set of student role demands and behaviors. (We are not saying that a lot is not happening under the surface in private schools or suburban or rural schools, but rather than the turmoil might be a little better concealed there than it is at Sheridan.) Her perspective from having been a member of both institutions made her a wonderful informant for us, because she was able to see things that people who had been living in the system all their lives were too accustomed to notice.

In the following incident which she described to the fieldworker, we see that she was not attuned to the role expectations of maintaining distance between students and teachers. The situation was that this student had gotten pregnant and a teacher with whom she was friendly helped her to arrange an abortion, visited her at the clinic, and helped her manage the whole thing without her parents or the school finding out. The day before the abortion, the teacher had had lunch with the student in the teacher's cafeteria. The student tells how the teacher had gotten into a lot of trouble for taking her into the teachers' cafeteria.

> Fieldworker: How do you know that?
> Student: She told me. And I heard it. I just sat there and talked to her this lunch period and then the seats emptied. I wasn't taking up a seat, but they smelled a kid and they wanted him out. They want no kids eating lunches with teachers. It's disgusting. The teacher I was with didn't care. She told me she didn't care. Everybody was really upset. Her department chairman . . . said please not to do that. It's unprofessional.
> Fieldworker: Unprofessional?
> Student: Special to one student.

Clearly, the teacher has transgressed the limits of her role in the eyes of other teachers and administrators. The social sanctions in the cafeteria were not quite powerful enough to move the student out, so others moved out to avoid the student. To have remained would have condoned the departure from the norm

In contrast to the tightly adhered to norms of social distance in the urban and suburban schools, the Green Valley observer noted that, in the commons, as opposed to the classroom, teachers become more familiar with students, and kids talk more freely with and in front of the teachers.

> While they are still called by their last names, a lot of the in-class formality drops.

In contrast to the other schools, where distance is important both in class and out, in school and out, Green Valley teachers redefine their roles somewhat according to the setting. Furthermore, the sanctions operating seem to be much less rigid with respect to in-class distance. Students in Green Valley talk about the fact that popular teachers sometimes allow students to call them by their nicknames. The student says that:

> the kids get like a kick out of calling them by a nickname. Maybe that's why some of them are well liked.

We can speculate that there is a relationship between the type of bureaucratic structure of the particular school and the amount or quality of the social distance that is maintained between students and teachers. Green Valley is much more organically organized than the other two schools; the small size of the school combined with the greater influence on relations in the school of relations originally formed outside the school contribute to an atmosphere in the school that is generally less formal than in the other two schools.

Political Alliances and Corresponding Roles Among Teachers

One of the main conceptual thrusts of our study has been to observe the way in which people in an institution sort themselves into groups, and on what basis this sorting occurs. In the first unit, we have seen that both the bureaucratic properties of the formal organization and the organic characteristics of the human population of the organization influence sorting behavior. We are hypothesizing as a general principle that sorting is an inevitable consequence of the need to obtain autonomy in an organization, and are attaching it to the more general anthropological thesis that people naturally organize into groups and form alliances with each other in order to fulfill their basic needs, and then spend a good deal of their time defining their group's separateness from other groups.

The school can be viewed as an arena of combat, where various groups are struggling for control over the ability to determine what goes on inside the school. Teachers, students, and administrators are in competition for the control over resources and decision making. Administrators are at a distinct advantage in the struggle, since they have the formal authority to make policy and determine school direction. Students are almost totally impotent in this regard, in that they are caught between their dual statuses as clients of the organization and children of the in loco parentis structure of the school.

But since one of the main struggles in the school is over the question of who controls what goes on inside the classroom, and since administrative policies are often a direct challenge to the teacher's autonomy in the classroom, teacher groupings that come about as a result of varying responses to administrative controls and institutional demands can be very illuminating in terms of what is really going on in the school. The roles which emerge within each group respond to particular needs of the group or the institution. Linking roles which serve to coordinate communication between teacher groups and between levels in the hierarchy are necessary from the point of view of the institution in order for the school to remain as a cohesive entity.

Teachers in each of our schools sort themselves into alliances according to different criteria. In Sheridan, the lines of division are drawn first along the classes of positions on the hierarchy: administrators versus teachers. Teachers are further distinguished according to where they fall on the political spectrum in terms of their support or opposition to the administration and its policies. The administration in Sheridan mandates quite a lot of what is to take place in the classroom, demanding the Developmental Lesson Plan of all teachers. While teachers who are opposed to the administration may not necessarily be totally against the use of the DLP, what is at issue for them is who has the ability to decide whether they should use it or not.

In Sheffield, there is an ideological split between the innovators and the change resisters. In this school, the innovators are aligned with administration. But the separation here is not all that blatant, and the groups do not always line up according to that ideological division. The issue at stake is a debate over what the content of what recurs inside the classroom should be. There is less concern over who has the right to make those decisions.

In Green Valley, the division is less between administrators and teachers and more along the lines of insiders versus outsiders to the school. The principal is an outsider, while many of the teachers are insiders. These statuses are determined by larger cultural norms imposed by the rural community.

Identification of Main Political Groups in Each School

We will first outline the various groups in each school and identify the main actors or leaders within each. We will then go back and describe the roles that coincide with the positions of the actors in each group. Finally, we will outline the general teacher roles that come about as a response to administrative policies, and which are not necessarily attached to one group or another but are seen as general or individual strategies for dealing with the teacher's lack of control over behavior, resources, and policy-making.

1. Sheridan

Teacher groupings in this school are determined by support, resistance to, or mere acceptance of the administration and its policies. There are at least four groups of teachers that are easily identifiable.

a. Maoists. Starting from the political left, we have the Maoists. These are the confrontation-oriented teachers who are violently opposed to the principal. It was the principal who gave them this name. The members of this group vary, depending on who you talk to, but generally include the former union representatives, who were involved in confrontation politics, and their allies.

b. Radical teachers. The main leader of this group is Eileen Shea. She has been in the school for about 15 years, and is constantly challenging the existing order. She plays the role of "militant professional."

c. Centrists and moderates. This group is identified by the fact that while they do not necessarily support the administration, these teachers have a working relationship with the administration. Some members are farther to the left than others, for instance Henry Mazur, while Bill Lowry is smack in the middle of the road in both his formal role as union representative and his informal roles as mediator, teacher advocate, salesman, and middleman. Moving to the right of the spectrum we have Marvin Roth, who gets along with the principal but is not totally supportive of him.

d. Administration supporters and "friends of Irwin Sontag". At the head of this group we have Penny Ottman, who, while she is not crazy about some of Sontag's methods of dealing with people, supports, implements, and even creates administrative policy wholeheartedly.

e. Apolitical teachers. Many of the teachers in Sheridan do not take a stand politically about who has the right to determine what goes on in the classroom. While many of them may disagree, this groups accepts the administration's directives, either because they are afraid to buck the system, or because they are not interested in being involved. Several of the teachers in the secretarial department, who complain all day about their supervisor and her policies, take no real stand against her. One of our fieldworkers named them "the weak sisters".

f. Individualists. We are not really calling this a group, for obvious reasons, but there are a number of teachers in the school who do not fall into any particular grouping or another, but who make their decisions and reactions idiosyncratically and on the basis of the specific situation and demand. They may or may not take political sides on issues. Two of the teachers who might be classified this way include Dr. Cracow and Mark Berlin.

Within these groups, we may see people who act as linkages between the groups, and we will be interested to see how these roles emerge and are played out. Additionally, there are roles which link people vertically, from one level of the hierarchy to another, and we will examine the teacher "linking pin" roles that accomplish this function.

2. Sheffield

The divisions are much less complex here, and pose the innovators (the principal, Forsythe, and various members of the English, Math, and Foreign Language Departments) against the change resisters (social studies department, physical education department). These are not the only divisions in the school, as another important criteria is how much a particular individual or department enhances the prestige of the school. While Joe Rossi, the basketball coach and a teacher, is resistant to academic change, his winning basketball team allows him to occupy a favored position in the eyes of the administration. In Sheridan, while the issue is who has the right to determine what goes on in the classroom, in Sheridan the issue is the content itself.

3. Green Valley.

In the rural school, the division among teachers is not along administration versus teacher lines, but rather according to insider versus outsider status. As we said earlier in this unit, insider status is rather difficult to attain, and must be earned by years in the system, or through acceptance among the powers that be (the other insiders). Insider status can be accorded on the basis of ethnicity, home town, years in the school system, athletic team support or coaching, or any number of other criteria. In Green Valley, insiders include Burton, the Chairman of the English Department, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Norton, Social Studies teachers and Ralph Green, the Chairman of the Science Department. This is the group which has control over what occurs inside as well as outside the classroom. On the other side is Mr. Wyatt, the principal, the epitome of the outsider, and a loner. Not allied with Wyatt, but also on the outside are Sean O'Hare, a young and radical history teacher, and Agnes Albertson, who moved to Green Valley from the city.

Political Roles of Teachers

1. Sheridan

a. Eileen Shea, Radical Teacher and Militant Professional.

We have called Eileen Shea a militant professional because she constantly fights to see that teachers are treated as competent, capable, mature and skilled workers. Most of her opposition to the administration is rooted in her belief that teachers should be allowed to determine their own policies and should not be treated like children by the administration. She is considered militant because she will not permit a transgression by the administration or an opportunity to fight back to go unattended or unnoticed.

In a set of incidents, we see how Eileen responds to what she considers insulting behavior by the principal toward the teachers. She not only complains to fellow teachers about it, but she also brings it directly to the principal's attention at a meeting of the executive council of the UFT chapter. The fieldworker relates the incident in his field notes:

> But then Eileen got up, when the discussion was taking place on the agenda for the meeting with the principal and said that she wanted to talk about the faculty conference. She said that she was extremely angry and insulted that she had to sit and be berated by the principal for 15 minutes. She said she resents the way Mr. Sontag treats teachers. She said he got up there and for 15 minutes berated the entire faculty for transgressions of just a few members of the faculty. She said she didn't think teachers should be chastised this way. She said that teachers were being treated as students and that anybody knows that an entire class should not be chastised for the actions of just a few people in the class, that a teacher should take aside those few people who are breaking the rules or not complying with whatever regulations are set and talk to these people separately. She said that this is what Sontag should do. He should take whoever is not meeting all of his standards, he should take those people aside and talk to them separately, that he should not stand up in front of the faculty conference for 15 minutes and chastise everybody.

In the meeting with the principal, Eileen basically reiterates the points she had made the day before. The principal does not really respond to her attack directly. However, in a later incident involving one of our vertical linking people, we discover that Sontag's method of defusing Eileen's attack is to criticize her and the meeting because her speech was not something that was on the agenda, and therefore should not have been mentioned. Thus, the principal responds to the attack by avoidance and circumvention, redirecting the thrust of the issue away from the topic and diverting it into a procedural argument.

In a discussion with the fieldworker, Eileen tells him about the alternative teachers organization started by a woman who was given an unsatisfactory rating by the principal and fired. The following excerpt from the notes demonstrates one of the reasons for the formation of political groups in the school; namely, the need to band together to protect each other from the rather immense power the principal has over the teachers:

> Then she said that do you know that a principal can just... That's their way of getting you out of the school. A principal can just give you unsatisfactory ratings and get you out of a school. Do you know what you can do about it? I said no, I thought you could appeal it. She said yes, you can appeal it, but it's a real kangaroo court. She said that the court is made up of all principals and she gave me some examples of what happens. I don't remember all of them, but there were some things like the court that hears your complaint is all principals and of course the complaint is usually brought up by a principal. You are usually appealing an action of a principal. Here it is all principals listening to your appeal. The other thing was that your lawyer cannot cross examine the board of education's lawyers.

The fact that the principal sees Eileen as one of those troublemakers you always have in the school may allow us to speculate that political divisions of this sort will always exist in a setting where one group is struggling against another for control of resources. Sontag said about Eileen:

> But you always have people like that in the school. They just want to stir up trouble. They just want to create problems. No matter what you do, they've always got some kind of axe to grind and they're just looking for a confrontation. ((paraphrase))

But Eileen is too good a teacher to be moved out of the school by the principal. He has tried, through actual prosecution of her on the charge of forged absence excuses dating back to the mid-1960s, to get her out, but has never been able to attack her on her capabilities as a teacher.

b. Bill Lowry, True Union Leader, Teacher Advocate, Mediator and Broker, Salesman.

As True Union Leader, Bill Lowry is the formal union representative. He is also a "true union leader" in that he fully supports the principles which underly the idea of a union. In one situation, the question of whether to support the striking school aides comes up at a union meeting. Many of the teachers are opposed to this, but Lowry points out that if the UFT joins with them, they are all that much stronger. For him it was not only the idea that he didn't want them to oppose the teachers in return, but rather than a union could be stronger if it developed mutual support relationships with other unions, and merged in times of need.

In another union meeting, Bill can be seen in his formal role as broker between the administration and the faculty. The problem concerned a letter he had received from Milton Drucker, the Assistant Principal, telling the teachers that any student who had not returned the survey form (some kind of census form) would get a U rating in citizenship. The fieldworker reports that the letter was immediately attacked by the teachers at the meeting, on the basis that you can't force this kind of information and that it was just plain immoral. While these considerations may have been important from one point of view, Bill Lowry assumes his role as union man when he asks, "Does it affect our teachers adversely?" ((Paraphrase)). Thus, it appears that in this role, Lowry is less concerned about the ethics of the situation than about the applicability of the union defense to the problem. We can also see how Lowry is considered the broker by the administration, in that it is to him that the letter is sent by the administration, and it is up to him to announce the directive to the teachers.

Bill also plays an emergent role as Teacher Advocate, which is not necessarily related to his formal role as union man, although his supporting brokering and mediating roles can be seen as his attempt to develop a constituency supporting his position as formal union representative. This next incident not only shows Lowry in this role, but it also points out what happens when students attempt to act politically in an attempt to influence the policies of the school. Two students who were representatives of the school's curriculum council came into the faculty meeting and presented a proposal that students should have some formal mechanism for dealing with situations in which there is considerable friction between a class and its teacher. After the meeting had adjourned, teachers were talking about the proposal in the hall. Most objected to it. According to the fieldworker,

> Bill in particular said, "I don't like this whole idea. It gets into rating teachers. I don't go for this." I sensed a pretty general opposition among the people to the proposals of the curriculum council.

Another example of his advocacy of teachers is his support of Dr. Cracow, who is rather the patsy of the faculty. Cracow, according to our fieldworker, refused to prepare lesson plans, had confrontations with Sontag, and is the butt of a lot of school jokes. Because he is not considered much of an asset to have on your side, Bill would probably prefer not to support him. Our fieldworker reports:

> Bill will, for example, try and support him from the union standpoint, although I'm not sure exactly what Bill's feelings are on supporting him. But there has been a whole series of troubles between Cracow and Sontag. Cracow is teaching most of his subjects out of license.... It will be interesting to see what happens in February if Sontag does go through with the whole excessing bit....

Bill will also take a stand on behalf of the rights of teachers even when no one else will. He seems to consider it his duty to do so as part of his emergent role as advocate. In one incident where the principal had ordered teachers to go out on patrol in the halls, Bill spoke out against this at the executive council meeting of the UFT, saying that this assignment was in violation of the union contract. While everybody joined in agreement with Bill's opinion, no one was willing to file a grievance.

> So Bill said, "I'm going to do it myself." Bill was complaining about the fact that nobody will take a stand, that nobody wants to be bothered with this kind of thing. That nobody wants to confront an issue such as this.

Centrist, Mediator, Broker, Salesman are other roles played by Lowry. In order to succeed in his formal role as union representative, and to further bolster support for himself in that position, Bill has established himself as a diplomat and broker between the faculty and the administration. While this position in the middle naturally creates difficulties for him and causes people on both sides to be critical of his both-sides-of-the-fence stance, he is also able to be an effective compromiser, dispute mediator, and communication link between the two levels in the hierarchy. In spite of the fact that he was the administration's choice for union representative (against the confrontation people), he still seems to be at least partially trusted by the faculty, even the radical members.

A passage in the field notes discusses a conversation the fieldworker had with Bill about the role Bill plays as middleman and mediator.

> Bill said, "I've got to function in a different way than a lot of people would like me to function...I said, "you know, I finally got a chance to read that newsletter of yours." He said, "yeah? What did you think of it?" I said that I thought it was a good newsletter, that it was a diplomatic letter. He said, "Yeah, people confuse that with being weak. I've been accused of really putting out a weak newsletter. You ought to hear all these people saying how weak a newsletter that is. But they don't understand the kind of relationship I have to have with the principal.... I depend on a give and take relationship. I've got good rapport with Sontag and I can get things done." ((paraphrase))

Bill gives examples of one of the things he got done, and also of the problems he mentioned about being accused of being weak. The problem involved the Italian teacher and the fact that she was in danger of being excessed because not that many students were taking Italian. Bill says:

> I know that some people are complaining because she got in a bad schedule. You know, there are two sides to everything. People complain and say she's gotten a really bad schedule and she's getting a screwing but the fact is that there are only enough kids in the school to make up two classes in Italian. Everybody says she's got five preparations because she's got all these different classes. She has to have different classes because there aren't that many kids taking Italian. I broke my back trying to make that schedule for her. You know, if I had had a real bad rapport with Sontag, for all I know she could have been excessed. She can get excessed for not having enough classes in her subject area. They can just say, well, we're not going to give any more Italian and that's the end of her. But I really worked this thing out.

The way he managed to work this out was by circumventing the legitimate channels and arranging for the Italian teacher to teach one of the federally funded reading clinic classes each day, which he was able to justify because she used to teach reading and was thus certified in that area. He said that he couldn't have done that kind of thing if he didn't have a good relationship with the administration. Bill goes on to give two or three more examples of his negotiation ability. In one, he was able to convince the principal to rehire, on a per diem basis, the teachers that had been excessed.

> People are yelling and screaming at me that I didn't take a hard enough stand on getting these people kept in the school. But sometimes I just don't even listen to all that yelling and screaming. All I'm concerned about is the end result. I know these people are working and I get my satisfaction out of that. Sontag didn't have to do that. He didn't have to bring these people back into the school, but because he and I have good rapport and I told him about the problem, he promised me he'd do everything he could and he did. He's got most of these people working in the school now. All right, so they've been excessed, but at least they still have a job. At least they're still making money. ((paraphrase))

His centrist role, is, he feels responsible for his ability to have good rapport with the administration. Talking about his predecessors, he says,

> You know, these people just don't understand about confrontation politics. The guys who used to be in before me,... were constantly confronting him ((Sontag)) and fighting. They got nowhere. So they lost the election. ((paraphrase))

But again, he stresses the bind that his centrist role places him in:

> Teachers say that if you're not fighting, you're a patsy of the principal. You're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't. If you don't buck the administration, teachers say you're not doing anything. You're a patsy. If you do buck the administration, the administration fights back and you don't get anywhere. You have to walk this very thin line between the two. ((paraphrase))

Bill mentioned the fact that the principal is a real fighter, and if you fight, you can be sure that he will fight back. He also said t[illegible] Eileen's method of fighting Sontag was ineffective, because Sontag is at his best when he is fighting. Bill said that his whole method of functioning with Sontag is along very "informal" (his word) lines. He sees himself as a salesman, and says:

> I know that you have to approach each client differently. Sontag is like my client and I know that I've got to approach Sontag in a certain kind of way. I know that he's a real tough customer and I have to approach him and I can't get him angry. ((paraphrase))

Bill has a very clear idea of what his formal and emergent roles entail:

> Real big issues, the union takes up. Grievances and any major problems are left to the union. But small things, for example if somebody doesn't have a lesson plan or getting some paper work done for somebody or getting a favor done or a program adjusted for somebody. These are all the small things I have to take care of. Somebody has to do it. I don't get any thanks from it. It's a very thankless job...But I'm going to do the job as I see fit...and continue playing the role that I'm playing right now and I'm not going to change, even if it costs me the election next year.

The view from the principal's position is important so that we can test out if Bill's perceptions about his role as mediator between faculty and administration are correct. Here are Mr. Sontag's words:

> Bill Lowry knows me. He knows that he never walks away from here empty handed. I always give him something. He comes in here and he might want 100% and I give him 25%. He can go back to his union and say, look, I didn't get everything, but this is what I got. So Bill knows. But it wasn't that way with these other people. I never gave them anything. Eventually the faculty got disgusted with them and kicked them out of here.

So not only does the principal confirm Bill's effectiveness, but he also supports Bill's position as a moderate. Thus, it is clear that the faculty needs Bill if it is going to get any compromises from the principal, and the principal needs Bill if he is going to maintain a reasonable amount of order and keep the opposition in check among the faculty. It is to the principal's advantage to keep the union happy and relatively inactive.

c. Henry Mazur, Left of Center Moderate, Union Expert, "Court Jew," Jack-Of-All-Trades.

Henry Mazur plays all these emergent roles, as well as some additional ones which are not directly connected to the political groupings among teachers.

Henry Mazur is an old socialist. He was a union man back when unions started. He is considered an expert in the field, and whenever teachers have technical questions about the union, or their rights under the law, they usually come to Henry rather than Bill. One explanation for this might be that Bill's position as formal representative and emergent position as compromiser with the administration might make him a later point of reference, in that his response to questions are bound by what is possible and politically practical. Thus, Bill would not only consider the question of the rights of teachers, but would also do a screening of what was politically advisable for him to undertake, so as not to endanger his rapport with the administration too strongly. Henry, on the other hand, is unattached, and thus the emergent role he plays as union expert is effective because it is emergent and not formalized. Formalization could result in cooptation, in the same way that Bill Lowry is accused of being a patsy.

Mazur also functions as a kind of Jack-Of-All-Trades and this ties in with his role as Court Jew. Everytime there is a new special program brought into the high school (usually a city-wide program implemented within each high school), Henry is the person who is assigned or volunteers to get it started and implemented. He did this with the drug program, the peer group program, the equivalency program, among others. The administration needs him because they must get those programs working in the schools by order of the Central Board. This corresponds to Henry's own characterization of himself as the Court Jew. He told the fieldworker that historically, when Jews were moneylenders, they were on the outer edges of society, but because of their capacity to lend money, they became a very essential part of the whole economic process of many communities. As a result of this, they were admitted to the courts of kings and princes in some strange status. Henry said that it was a recognition that yes, you're important, but you're not that important; but we really need you here. Henry sees himself as someone the administration doesn't particularly like but needs to keep around.

Henry also acts as a general teacher advocate and socioemotional harmonizer. In one case, Sontag was demanding to see the lesson plan books of teachers, and Henry stated at a meeting of the faculty that the principal does not have any right to ask for lesson plan books. "The lessons that a teacher has taught and completed are the teacher's private property" ((direct quote)). His word was accepted as authoritative. The researcher also noted that in meetings he has attended where Henry was present, Henry often took on the role of clarifier and synthesizer of what had been said. This is a socioemotional leadership role, in that it contributes to the general morale of the group.

The institution needs Henry to take care of various problem areas; the teachers need Henry as an advocate, a union expert, and a harmonizer. But why does Henry need to play those roles? Perhaps it is because he considers himself a professional (which we will discuss later in this section); the fact is that we don't really know much beyond the fact that this might be his personal strategy for surviving in the institution.

d. Marvin Roth, Centrist and Semi-Linking Pin.

Roth is an interesting character because he seems to be able to manage being a half-member of several groups in the school, although he is probably not fully trusted by any of them. He is an active union man and supports Bill Lowry. He echoes many of Lowry's speeches about working with Sontag, and also says that you can't fight with Sontag because Sontag loves a good fight. He teaches a perfect Developmental Lesson Plan, which keeps him in good with the principal. But he is also friends with Eileen Shea, although her group only trusts him after a certain point. For instance, Eileen's group had drawn up a petition about some protest which they were addressing to Sontag. They were not going to show it to Marvin until they had a certain number of signatures on it. There are certain things that they will not tell Marvin about, although he is considered on the outer fringes of the group. His ability to move from group to group puts him in a linking role, although the degree to which he can perform this role is limited by the question of how trustworthy he is. Nevertheless, he does provide some means of communication both between the teacher groups and between the teachers and the administration.

e. Dr. Cracow, Political Teacher but Individualist and Patsy.

We bring in Dr. Cracow just to illustrate that merely because a teacher is political does not mean that he automatically hooks up with any one group or another. In spite of the fact that he voices some of the "right" opinions, other teachers object to what he says:

> He said, "What I'm angry about is the selective enforcement of lesson plans and lesson plan rules. Sontag is doing this to harass people. This should be a policy that applies to everybody or applies to nobody. Sontag should ask everybody for lesson plan books or nobody at all." ((paraphrase)) Everybody objected. It seemed like everybody shook their heads. A couple of people said out loud, "No, no, no, don't get us in trouble because you've got problems."

f. Mark Berlin, Individualist and Homeguard.

Mark is considered a "good guy" among teachers. He also doesn't line up, but he does take stands on issues. He is not a member of any faction, but this is by his choice, in contrast to Cracow. He is also seen as a preserver of tradition and a standard bearer for the school. He supports such administrative policy suggestions as grade ceilings for students in slow classes (considered by many teachers to be a horrifying idea, and one which was turned down by the faculty), and at the same time comments that he opposes psychological beating of students to force them to participate in class. His role as individualist allows him to be inconsistent with the party line attached to one position, and he is a generally respected member of the institution, and in that capacity, transcends the political divisions and acts as a link between groups.

g. Viola Grumbacher, Vertical Linking Pin.

Viola acts as a connection between the administration and the faculty. She occupies an interesting position in that she serves on both the executive council of the UFT and also on the executive council of the school, which includes all the administrators and is the policy making body of Sheridan. An incident during an executive UFT meeting which refers to Eileen's complaints about Sontag's treatment of teachers and Eileen's confrontation of Sontag with those accusations at the meeting demonstrates her role as linking pin:

> Then Viola raised her hand and Bill called on her and she said, "Well, I think we should set a minimum number of people to attend these meetings with Mr. Sontag... And I also think that we should make it a policy that we don't bring up things that are not on the agenda at the meeting with Mr. Sontag. ((The usual procedure is that the UFT and executive council prepare an agenda for their meeting with Mr. Sontag.)) In the meeting with Mr. Sontag on Monday, Eileen brought up the faculty conference antagonism which was not on the agenda. This should not have been done. Mr. Sontag has complained about this. As a result of the digression, Mr. Sontag will write letters to teachers who come late to class. But don't make it known that I said anything about this last item." ((paraphrase))

It seems that Viola has direct connections to both Sontag and the union; there are many areas of question surrounding her role, and it would be really desirable to attempt to follow up on what her exact linkages are and where her power to maintain this position emanates from.

2. Sheffield

Political roles of teachers in Sheffield and Green Valley are not quite [illegible] much in the forefront as they are in Sheridan, but they figure into the organization of the school nevertheless.

a. Gebhardt and Backer. Backer, the German Department chairman (and not an administrator in this school), is perhaps the most outspoken advocate of individualized instruction. He enjoys a position of security and favor within the school, since the principal, Dr. Gebhardt, supports individualized instruction.

b. Mr. Carse, Health Teacher. Carse is something of an administration resister, and according to the fieldworker,

> criticized the administration of the school for pushing individualized instruction. "The students go right through it. They don't want to be left loose. Now things like independent studies, it's always, well not always but sometimes, a pretext for goofing off, for doing nothing. The administration doesn't know what it is doing."

The resistance to the administration, as mentioned before, comes from disagreement with the content of the policy. He is implicitly questioning the right and the qualifications of the administration for determining instructional method.

c. Social Studies Department, Innovation Resisters. We know that Dr. Gebhardt tries to push the department toward change, partly because of his own commitment, partly because of the Board's desire for innovation, and partly because the Social Studies Department is ranked the lowest in the school, and the need for change is imperative from that viewpoint. A Social Studies teacher informed the researcher that the department,

> gets the worst rooms in the building, where it gets so hot in the summer that the students don't want to work, and those rooms in the south cannot be made dark enough to see any material if the sun is out. ((paraphrase))

While we cannot be certain of any causal connection between the above and the possibility that they are discriminated against because they resist the administration's policy of change, we did notice that new opportunities and resources were made available to teachers who participated in the curriculum innovations.

3. Green Valley

a. Mr. Burton, Insider, Most Influential Person in School

While Burton is technically an administrator, he has so much influence over the faculty that it would be misleading not to call him a teacher leader. He is the head of the group of the insiders, who are the powerful people in the school. He is what makes that institution function and run smoothly, and he is an example of how formal authority can sometimes be less important than informal influence; he has exercised his influence and turned it into active power. One educational administrator from a different school system once said that it doesn't matter how much authority one has, that you don't have power, you take it. Burton, over the years, has activated his power, and his position as leader and insider are secure and a testimony to this precept. Burton is able to take risks that outsiders cannot take: he runs innovative classes, allows students to grade themselves, and does just about what he pleases. He meets no opposition as far as we can tell from our data. He is supported by other teachers, including Ralph Green, and Reynolds and Norton. When outsiders, such as Wyatt or O'Hare, attempted to take risks instructionally, they met with resistance either from other faculty members, the community, or the Board of Education.

b. Ralph Green, Teacher Leader of Waning Influence.

Two incidents demonstrate one negative and one positive aspect of the dimensions of Green's influence. In one incident, the fieldworker reports about the way class representatives are chosen. The elections are usually based on popularity. During the year of observation, however, the representatives of the senior class were chosen by Green on the basis of merit, which the fieldworker noted was a definite departure from the norm and an example of Green's influence. On the other side, the new science teacher, Williams, the "local" boy who was hired to replace the teacher who Reynolds and Norton teased in the cafeteria (story to follow) forced Green to shut down the senior lounge because the rules were being violated and lowerclassmen were eating there. The apparent contradictions between these two incidents are explained by the fact that Mr. Green used to be quite influential in the school, second only to Mr. Burton. He once obtained significant resources for the school in the form of science equipment obtained through Federal sputnik funds. In recent years, however, he has had personal problems which have moved him out of the arena of influence in Green Valley.

c. Reynolds and Norton, Coaches, Union Activists, Bullies, Insiders.

While we would hesitate to call Reynolds and Norton "innovators" in the progressive sense of the word, they have instituted some curricular innovations in their classes. They do team teaching, which is a method disapproved of by the principal, who feels that large group instruction is not effective with high school students. Reynolds and Norton feel that Wyatt "gets all he knows about teaching from books" ((direct quote)). So we have Wyatt on the opposite side from Reynolds and Norton, partly because of their disagreements concerning the type of instructional method to use, but also because Wyatt is an outsider, and Reynolds and Norton have a great deal of autonomy due to their positions as insiders.

--As Union Activists

The fieldworker reports that Ashley, Reynolds, Norton, and Sears are the activists in the teachers' organization and are most concerned with salary negotiations. Ashley is the president of that organization. If we recall the section on roles of the principal, we may remember that Wyatt is on the Board of Education salary negotiation board, which would put him on the other side of the table from these men, further defining the groups apart from one another.

--As Bullies

While it is difficult to make political and institutional statements about the function Reynolds and Norton play in the role of bullies, we can say that the legitimization of the role grows out of their positions as insiders, and in that sense, can be seen as a political role. They are the athletic coaches in the school, which justifies their aggressive behavior, at least socially, and they also are important people in the school because of that. Sports and athletic competition are a very important part of school and community life in Green Valley, and thus Reynolds and Norton occupy a specialized and revered position as a result. The fieldworker notes that these two teachers have a tendency to gang up on another teacher in the lunchroom and tease that person until he/she is provoked into anger or departure. Reynolds told the fieldworker, with some pride she comments, of how they teased Williams, a new teacher, on the first day of school and how he hasn't been in the lunch room since. But the fieldworker also notes that this teasing is not reserved only for initiating new teachers, but for anyone in their immediate range of fire.

d. Mr. Ashley, Union Representative and Linking Pin.

The teachers' organization in Green Valley does not have the power or influence of New York City's UFT, but they did threaten a strike during our fieldwork. Mr. Ashley maintained his position of leadership by avoiding being categorized with either the "in" or "out" groups among Green Valley teachers. Our observer reports that he almost never engaged in group conversations but rather approached people individually. In this way, he was able to maintain rapport with members of different groups without getting himself into a compromising position.

Teacher Roles Resulting from or in Response to Administrative Attitudes and Policies

The teacher roles outlined in this section, although they are certainly to be considered "political" in many ways, represent individual strategies for dealing with the administration and the demands of the institution, rather than group strategies. All of our examples here come from Sheridan Park. Sheridan, due to its size and complexity, and its dependence on rules and impersonality, is the least personal of our three schools. In Sheridan there are a greater number of formal restrictions placed on teachers' behavior and activities and less room for legitimate maneuvering around the rules than in our other schools. The roles which are described here are not all roles which develop in response to administrative policies or control, nor are all the following roles necessarily needed by the institution in order for the school to maintain itself in roughly its present form. What they are are several individual strategies which, due to their frequency and repetitiveness, have developed into emergent roles, establishing among teachers at least several socially accepted ways of reacting to control or demand from above.

1. General roles of resistance to the administration.

Bob Schweikert, a teacher, perceives the administration as being primarily interested in order-keeping. He told the fieldworker that "the administration doesn't really care so long as you're quiet, but you make any kind of changes..." ((direct quote)).

A former teacher, who had been fired after Sontag had given her a U rating and was now contesting this action in the courts, saw teachers as sitting ducks to the administration. This feeling of being a victim was echoed in a statement made at a conference of the National Institute of Education, in which it was said that everyone feels powerless in a school, from the bottom to the top.

Paul DiAngelo, the woodworking teacher we met in the principal section, talked to the fieldworker about the administrative organization of the school. The fieldworker is talking.

> He shook his head in amazement as he told me that everything was very strictly organized.... I pulled out the teachers' circular which I had picked up in Mr. Drucker's office that morning. We shook our heads together over the specific directions and the petty details which were so clearly spelled out for teachers in the circular. He said I'm always getting notes in my mail box saying didn't you get circular number 70B, or you forgot to hand in tear off number so and so. He said I'm not too good at remembering those numbers anyway.

2. Role of ritual specialist

The role of ritual specialist, that is, interpreter of the rules and procedures, is assumed by members of all levels of the school hierarchy. Students are acting as ritual specialists when they tell a substitute teacher, "That isn't how we do it here," or when they react to a new procedure a teacher might want to institute which goes against the students' ideas of what the proper procedure is. We distinguished earlier between the type of ritual specialist who merely interprets the rules, and the one who can make his or her interpretations stick. We have many ritual specialists among teachers at Sheridan, but probably none of them has enough influence or power to make his/her interpretation stick. For instance, the three teachers who refer to "slow tracks" in the conference on slow learners we analyzed at the beginning of this unit, that is, Mark Berlin, Eileen Shea, and Margaret Rossini, can all be considered ritual specialists, but without the power to have their definitions prevail.

3. Role of paranoid teacher.

Many teachers we observed or spoke to in Sheridan were, on first contact, defensive to the researcher because they assumed the fieldworker to be an observer sent out by the administration to check up on the teacher's classroom behavior. The administrative policy in question here is that of formal observations by the principal and assistant principals, the written evaluations, and the determination of criteria for evaluation (that is, adherence to the Developmental Lesson Plan). The anthropological term "observer" was often confused with DLP observer, and many teachers reacted to this title with various strategies for covering themselves. Our fieldworker reports:

> Mr. Eddy's class. I waited in the front of the room. When he saw me, he walked over and asked me if I were a student teacher. I introduced myself and explained my presence by saying that I was an observer. As soon as I said the word observer, the teacher, whose name is Mr. Eddy, blurted out, well I was absent three days. I told him that my presence had nothing to do with that, that I simply wanted to observe his class. He said ok, and went back to the students at the desk.

During lunch in the teachers' cafeteria one day, the subject of the Developmental Lesson Plan came up. We can see in the interchange between Penny Ottman, who we have already characterized as an administration supporter and expert bureaucrat, and a history teacher, a circumscriber of the rules, the paranoid role in response to a particular administration policy.

> Mrs. Ottman, who works in the program office, then pointed out a man sitting at the opposite end of the table from us and told us that he was a good history teacher who just lectures. The man reacted with a furtive smile and told her not to talk about him as if he could get in trouble for not following the developmental schedule.

The teacher could quite easily get in trouble for not following the DLP. The informal, collegial support offered by Penny Ottman is not necessarily a positive factor for the teacher; a hypothetical situation in which Penny was dealing with Sontag in her role as administration supporter, acting administrator, and implementer and designer of administrative policies, might call for a different response by Penny Ottman in which she has the power to turn her knowledge of the history teacher's functioning without the DLP into a weapon against him. To reiterate, since Mr. Sontag bases his evaluations on how well and completely the DLP is used in class, and since his evaluations are the basis for the final end-of-year teacher evaluations in which U ratings are determined, and since U ratings can be the basis for firing or moving a teacher out of a particular school, the teacher has good reason to assume the role of paranoid teacher and act defensively and secretively about his circumventions of the rules.

Since the teacher who is playing the role of paranoid teacher is protecting himself from very possible damage, one method that teachers use to protect themselves is to not tell the whole truth. The basic premise here is that "honest Abes" are fools in the social organization of the school. One incident involves a group of teachers in the teachers' cafeteria. The fieldworker is talking.

> As I sat down, they were talking about student teachers. Sheila said she didn't want one, but she had told her chairman, Stuart Caslow, that although she didn't want one, if he couldn't find any other place to dispose of the ones he was responsible for, she would take one. Everyone started telling her, Sheila, that's no way to do it. Of course you're going to get one if you do that.

The basic premise being acted upon here is that personal desires are not a priority in this institution. From our perspective, we would say that the department chairman is interested in assigning the student teachers for whom he is responsible as quickly and efficiently as possible, as his leadership could come into question if he implements an administrative policy inefficiently or ineffectively. The teachers know this, and they also have no illusions about how accommodating the administration might be to personal needs that do not coincide with the efficient implementation of the administrative policy. Thus, the teacher responds with the role of partial truth teller in an attempt to protect his or her individual needs.

4. Role of Teachers Acting Like Students

In earlier sections, we referred to how teachers were often subject to similar types of controls as students, and in many instances, were treated as if they were irresponsible children with no maturity or ability to make decisions. We have many instances of this in our data from Sheridan, and many examples of the concurrent and complementary role assumed by teachers, that of teachers acting like students. In the following account, the fieldworker notices the behavior and marks it; this is one of the earlier experiences which led him to develop a heuristic hypothesis that teachers assumed this role in certain situations.

> Meeting of the math department, convened by the chairman, Mr. Mendelssohn. The teachers in the room seemed rather jovial and social. They were all sitting in the seats, just like a bunch of students. They were cutting up a little bit just like a bunch of students.
>
> ....While Mr. Mendelssohn was talking, a young man teacher in the back of the room who was wearing a black skull cap was whispering to someone next to him. Mr. Mendelssohn turned to that part of the room and went shhh. He has an authoritative manner, and I had seen him handling his math class in exactly the same way only a few days before....
>
> At this point, the coffee water was ready and one of the women who had been designated to do the coffee said in a half-hearted manner why do the women always have to do the coffee. Mendelssohn said, oh, my goodness, I've got enough problems with women's lib already. That was the end of that.
>
> Mr. Mendelssohn went on talking about procedural details. A couple of the teachers in the room feigned yawns. Mark Berlin was cutting up a little bit and the young teacher who before the meeting had said, I'm in the guidance department now, was sitting on the other side of the room from me making faces....
>
> At one point Dr. Cracow wanted to talk. Mr. Mendelssohn said, well, why don't I just go through this and then if we have any questions, we can talk about them then. He went right on with his prepared lecture, which took, of course, the rest of the period....
>
> The meeting was scheduled to go to 2:40 and at about 2:38 teachers started shuffling around. Mendelssohn said, remain in your seats until the bell rings. He then started talking about the importance of drill, saying you can't teach theory all period. The bell rang and he hadn't quite finished talking. The teachers stayed until he had finished his sentence. He then said, that's it, folks.

A diagram may clear up any confusion concerning the concepts of pairs of complementary roles and particular behaviors associated with each role:

Administrator treating teachers like students	Teachers acting like students
1. Standing in front of the room	1. Sitting in seats in the classroom
2. Telling teacher to be quiet	2. Teacher in black skull cap whispering
3. Discounting objection of another adult re women making coffee as if teacher's opinion was not worthy of being listened to, much less heeded. Agenda controller.	3. Agenda acceptor
4. Chairman dominating floor, controlling agenda	4. Teachers feigning yawns, making faces
5. Telling teachers to remain in seats; letting them know when they could leave.	5. Teachers shuffling around, staying only till completion of sentence after bell.

The richest source of the data concerning the role of teachers acting like students can be found in the event analysis of the faculty conference on slow learners presented at the start of this unit. Additionally, we have comments by Eileen Shea to the effect that Sontag treats teachers as if they were students. She is quoted as having said "that teachers were being treated as students and anybody knows that. . . ."

Maggie Corwin, at the end of her comments about typical teacher behavior and how she found herself conforming to those expectations, told the fieldworker that:

> there's only about that much difference between students and teachers in the administration's eyes (holding her fingers about a quarter of an inch apart). She said I was absent two days and I got this nasty note.

The implementation of the administrative policy of good attendance calls forth certain types of enforcement of and support for the policy which tends to hold teachers accountable in the same way as it holds students accountable. The implicit assumption by the administration is that the teacher did not have a good reason to be absent, or at least is a case for suspicion. Many teachers acted the same way toward their students; some were borne out, others were false accusations. But the starting point was an attachment of guilt to the person in question, whose job it was to prove his or her innocence. Teachers are treated similarly, and their positions as professionals does not alter that treatment; in fact, their professionalism is undermined by the lack of responsibility and accountability entrusted to them by the administration. This contradicts Sontag's stated position that he would like to do everything in his power to enhance the professionalism of the field of teaching.

But it would be misleading to paint a picture of the school administration only as the initiators and perpetrators of a system of control. In fact, they are also the victims. A department chairman at Sheridan was talking about the way the Board of Education treats department chairmen.

> He said they pay people over $20,000 to do the jobs and then they treat them like little children.

The maxim that everyone in the school feels powerless might prevent us from blaming "management" for everything that is wrong or unjust in the institution. With regard to accountability and questions of professionalism, it appears that the administrative policy comes not only from above and outside the school, but also in response to the coordination needs of such a large complex system as that of New York City education. In other words, the unions, which developed in response to the need for the protection of security and professionalism, needed to clearly define certain questions of accountability in order to set up procedures and standards that management would have to abide by. The pull between administration and teachers, between Board of Education and administrators, over the definition and clarification of rights and duties of positions and limits and boundaries of responsibilities produced a system of incredible supervision and accountability for employees. It is no wonder, then, that teachers are treated like students, that administrators are treated like children, and that people respond according to the expectations their higher ups have of their role behavior.

Additional Emergent Roles

Many of the roles teachers assumed in our high schools did not necessarily develop as political responses to particular administrative attempts at control. These additional roles have to do with more generalized conceptions of what a teacher is and does. Rather than emerging in response to a particular and individual situation, they are more often categories or labels with patterns of behavior attached (professionals, cosmopolitans, and locals; businessmen; teachers by default), extensions of certain aspects of the formal role (policemen), or linking mechanisms between school and community (community link, resident historian). These are by no means all the roles which exist in the three schools, but as the delineation of roles requires repeated observations of similar patterns of behavior, our list is limited by what we could substantiate through repetition. In your own schools, however, where you are more closely in touch with everyday actions and behaviors, you should be able to identify some of the emergent and untitled roles people in your school assume.

1. Cosmopolitans and Locals

Alvin Gouldner ("Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles, I & II") distinguishes between two major types of employees in a factory organization. Calling the categories of "cosmopolitans" and "locals" latent organizational identities, Gouldner defines these terms on the basis of three variables: (1) loyalty to the employing organization, (2) commitment to specialized or professional skills, and

(3) reference group orientations.

> Cosmopolitans are those low on loyalty to the employing organization, high on commitment to specialized role skills, and likely to use an outer reference group orientation (I, p. 290).

Locals, on the other hand, are those

> high on loyalty to the employing organization, low on commitment to specialized role skills, and likely to use an inner reference group orientation (I, p. 290).

Gouldner explains that he regards these categories as latent identities "because they involve criteria which are not fully institutionalized as bases for classifying people in the modern organization. . ." (I, p. 290), a concept similar to our own "emergent role." In a follow-up article, Gouldner further clarifies his typology by describing certain types of locals and cosmopolitans. While this clarification could prove useful in providing hints about various characteristics to look for, his categories emerged from his own data. In that we are using the same method, we would thus prefer to develop our own ways of viewing the people in the organization of the school; the separation of cosmopolitans and locals is useful and can be transplanted from one situation to another; however, beyond that we would prefer not to impose already conceived categories on the data.

We have several examples of professionals, or cosmopolitans, in our schools. The most obvious is Eileen Shea from Sheridan, who has been named a "militant" professional by our fieldworker. Eileen is certainly low on loyalty to the goals and ideology prevailing in Sheridan. She is highly committed to specialized skills: in spite of her radical political leanings, she is viewed as an extremely competent instructor, and attempts by the administration to move her out of the school have had to rely on accusations of administrative rule breaking rather than on impugnment of her teaching skills. Her point of reference is not what is acceptable according to the culture of the school, but rather what are the rights of teachers viewed from an outside perspective which considers teachers career people with special training and education particularly prepared to perform their chosen tasks.

Mr. Sontag has his own ideas about the professionalism of the teaching field. He views himself as someone who has tried to push the professional definition of teachers, although at a faculty meeting he says:

> There are many people in teaching who are not professional.... It's a job. Or maybe they do a good job and they like it and all that, but they themselves don't consider it a profession.... So I've always felt that it hasn't been a profession and tried to fight for it for years, but I don't know if I've ever gotten any place. ((paraphrase))

Teaching is an occupation which is often considered semi-professional. Unlike doctors or lawyers, who, once they have passed through their educational and practical training, automatically enter the ranks of professionals and are trusted on the basis of their specialized skills and autonomy, teachers are admitted as professionals only when they carve that image for themselves. They are not awarded this status upon completion of standardized requirements, but must earn it by distinguishing their behavior from that of other teachers, and thus we see the emergence of the role of cosmopolitan.

Another cosmopolitan in Sheridan is Henry Mazur. He would prefer to move out of Sheridan into a new and much more progressive high school where he feels that his skills would be better utilized. He is not commited to the employing organization in terms of its ideology or to the school itself, and although he is a resident of the neighborhood of the school, sees his future career development as taking place in a place which could better serve his needs and to whose organization he could be a actively contributing member.

Other teachers in Sheridan who can be considered cosmopolitans include Margaret Rossini and Dr. Schonwald. Both have doctorates, and this "standardized" degree is a qualifying factor in itself for the title of "professional." Additionally, Margaret Rossini had just come to Sheridan from a position as a college professor, again an automatic "professional" occupation. Her reference group and point of vantage come from outside the high school, and her commitment is to teaching in general, not necessarily high school teaching in Sheridan Park.

In Sheffield, one teacher tells the researcher about the teacher identified as incompetent by the Administration and the Board, for whom various solutions, such as giving him all study halls, were proposed by the dissatisfied parties. The teacher telling the story says that the incompetent teacher is "a guy stuck with the worst of everything . . . that he was probably the most knowledgeable of the faculty and he really belongs in a junior college" ((paraphrase)). The incompetent teacher could be considered a "cosmopolitan" in that he does not conform or affirm the ideology of the organization enough to have his skill accepted. In another section of the field notes, an administrator mentions that this teacher does not keep order in his class, and this might give us one clue as to why he is considered incompetent, if he is, in fact, the most knowledgeable person on the faculty. He is not fulfilling his formal role as order-keeper and disciplinarian, and thus not only his status as professional but also his job as teacher are in question. His professionalism is not supported by the school organization, and we should also question here if the nature of the organization of the school as we have observed it discourages the development of the professionalism of teaching. A case can easily be made for this proposition if we view the school as an institution which would prefer to maintain control over its employees rather than to risk losing that control by allowing and encouraging the degree of autonomy necessary for real development of an attitude of professionalism.

2. Teachers by Default

This is a role which is much talked about, especially by people outside of the teaching field. A person who has failed at his or her chosen professional falls back on teaching for livelihood, and these people are called teachers by default. While we have some evidence of this from our three schools, including accounts of teachers who had been opera singers, actors, college professors, stewardesses, we have more in the way of opinions than of actual behavior. Henry Mazur from Sheridan mentioned that most teachers view themselves as failures because they have had to become teachers. Our observers did, however, interview several teachers in Sheridan who indicated that they would prefer jobs in other fields if they could get them.

3. Teachers as Businessmen

Related to the preceding role is the role of teacher as businessman. The businessman teacher is the person who comes in every day, does the required work, leaves at the bell, and picks up his paycheck. The accomplishment of the explicit goals of education, teaching, and learning is attended to only incidentally or superficially by the businessman. A student who transferred from a private school to Sheridan tells of how she became successful in the public high school by figuring out the system. She says that it is their attitude that makes her call these teachers businessmen ((and it is her term we are using here)):

> They were thinking of education as a business in terms of learning, not in terms of making their own money, but they thought of the classroom more as an office than as a classroom. You know what I mean? That they had a certain job that they had to get over with when they get home instead of really liking kids....
>
> The final system that I worked out. It took me a while, but the final system at the end of my junior year was don't ...What you do is this, you see. You go to school. You look around the classroom and get to know kids. Screw around as much as you can. Maybe be bright sometimes so you can impress the teacher. Then never study, never hand in any homework. When the exam comes, study your ass off the night before. Memorize all the things that he's been wanting you to know for the past six months which you can learn in one night and you can do them on the test. Get a high enough mark on the test. He loves you. He doesn't want any trouble. Teachers don't want any trouble. They don't want to be bothered. They really don't. Half the teachers, no, 99% of the teachers at Sheridan don't even like students at all. They're businessmen. If they're businessmen, they want...easy problems ((direct quote from interview)).

Mark Berlin, the math teacher from Sheridan, says that:

> teaching is...like any other kind of profession. It's pretty much of a game. You just have to learn how to play that game. If you keep to your corner, you keep clean ((interview)).

Mark is expressing both the necessary paranoia of how to protect oneself in the organization, and also that teaching is not necessarily a creative occupation.

The hope of acquiring personal resources is what motivates one music teacher from Sheridan to stick with his job in that school. In five years, he will be eligible for a pension, and he indicated to the fieldworker that this is one of the main reasons why he stays on.

The setup of the union contract in New York City also contributes to the development of the role of businessmen teachers, in that it spells out distinctly the boundaries of the job descriptions and the monetary and fringe benefits of performing certain specific duties. It functions to reduce creative interpretation of how the goals of education, teaching and learning can best be accomplished by teachers.

4. Hatchetmen and All-Around Policemen

In addition to the formal disciplinarians in the school (deans, etc.), self-appointed policemen in Green Valley and Sheridan assume the role of patrolling the halls, lunchrooms, bathrooms, and take the responsibility for disciplining rule-breakers and troublemakers themselves. In Green Valley, an incident involving the removal of a package of Ring Ding cakes from the cafeteria (breaking the rule of no food outside the cafeteria) is turned into a cause célèbre by the enforcing teacher, who attempts techniques such as cross-examination of the accused person's sister and friends. In Sheridan, there is one male teacher who has informally assumed the role of disciplinarian to such an extent that the principal has reduced his teaching load to one class a day.

5. Community Link

In most schools, it is probable that certain staff members will have linkages to the outside community. These linking people function within the school to help keep the institution and its employees aware of the needs of their immediate constituencies and the realities of life for their students outside school. They also may provide a communication connection directly or indirectly between the community and the school. In Sheridan, Henry Mazur is the community link and resident historian. He grew up in the neighborhood of Sheridan, and knows a great deal about the area. In a discussion of a program that was being considered for implementation in Sheridan, Henry talks about the necessity of knowing what the community is all about. According to the fieldworker, Henry says:

> If we are going to insist on teacher participation in setting this thing up then we have to select teachers for this council who know exactly what the community is all about. The program will deal with the historical development of the area plus the contemporary characteristics of the neighborhood. For that reason, and because of the politics of this particular area, somebody must really know what's going on. Otherwise, we are not going to get out of this thing what we want." ((paraphrase))

Our field notes show repeated examples of Henry intervening with information about the local community and the political implications of certain actions by the school vis-à-vis the community. He continually attempts to maintain and raise awareness among teachers and staff concerning the local population and neighborhood.

Roles of Support Staff

The support staff of the high school, including such people as janitors, secretaries, security people, elevator operators, school aides and paraprofessionals, are an important part of the school from the standpoint of the institution. These auxiliary people are often seen by other, more highly ranked or paid employees of the school as rather insignificant members, less skilled, with less status. In fact, support staff perform such needed functions as gatekeeping and institution maintenance in addition to their formal duties described by their position titles. In the urban school, janitors have a great deal of independence by virtue of their special relationship with the Central Board.

1. Janitors

Maintenance staffs in our high schools are responsible for general upkeep, cleaning, and repairs. Additionally, they act in emergent roles as linkages between students and adults, and as controllers of both students' and teachers' behavior. We will first describe these emergent roles of janitors in Sheffield and Green Valley, and then describe the specialized relationship the janitor has with the urban school principal.

a. Sheffield

Students in Sheffield, when questioned about their perceptions of the janitor's role, responded with a variety of comments which would lead us to believe that students view one of the janitors as a student ally in the adult culture. He is also seen as an institution expert, someone who knows what goes on in the school. Some of their comments include:

a cheerer-upper

an officer

someone who keeps the school at an even tempo

someone who knows where everything is

someone who knows what's happening

someone to watch everything

somebody to talk to

someone you can say things to that you can't say to a teacher or to the principal because it didn't matter because you know he wouldn't repeat it or something

a father role

sort of a friend

someone to find stuff for you

someone to get you things that you want

In one account, the junior custodian knocks on the door of the girls' bathroom to tell them that the Assistant Principal "is on the warpath and that they had better watch out" ((paraphrase)). A student informs the researcher that he does this quite often. However, a later record in the field notes tells us that this janitor was fired; two teachers recounting the story attribute this to the fact that he was caught drinking during lunch and for not doing his job well. Whether these were really the reasons or if perhaps the janitor had transgressed the limits of his role in relation to being a student ally is something we don't know.

But while the students trust the custodians not to squeal, the head custodian at Sheffield informs us that when he overhears or sees things about students that cause him concern, he tells the Assistant Principal, so here we have the custodian playing the role of administration ally and informant.

This janitor is also able to act as a controller of behavior, regardless of whether the undesirable behavior is coming from a teacher, student, or administrator. As long as it is within his realm of formal responsibility, our field notes show that the custodian can simultaneously yell at students for knocking chairs onto the floor in the cafeteria and then take them to the principal's office, while at the same time reprimanding the teacher in charge for not disciplining the students in the first place. The janitor is summoning the role of teacher as disciplinarian as justification for his reprimand, and expects the teacher to act according to rights and duties attached to the role of teacher as disciplinarian.

b. Green Valley

In Green Valley, janitors also act as controllers of student behavior. They put pressure on the students by threatening to stop all dances if too many cigarette butts are found in forbidden areas. The fieldworker believes that the custodians are not fond of the additional work these extracurricular activities demand and use this as an excuse to end these kinds of events. So they are at once enforcing the smoking rules, delimiting the boundaries of their job, and protecting their work load.

Bus drivers, who are not found elsewhere in our sample, assume the role of informant that is played by the head custodian in Sheffield. They are seen by the researcher as a link between the administration and the students. The drivers gossip to the secretaries about the misbehavior of the kids on the buses, and the secretaries have the option of passing that information along to the principal.

Thus, in both schools, janitors and bus drivers are adults, whose formal tasks do not include disciplinary and authoritarian roles. They are immediately more trustworthy in the eyes of the student than an adult with formal authority to pull rank and provide punishment for transgressions. In spite of the fact that custodians and bus drivers act as indirect rule enforcers, they are not the ones meting out the punishment. Furthermore, they are more approachable and visible than are other members of the hierarchy, and they are also not accorded the same prestige as teachers and administrators, and are thus separate from the other adults in the school. They do not need anything directly from the students, and personal control of behavior is based more on making the custodian's job easier than it is on a desire to keep order for the sake of the school's image.

C. Sheridan

In an interview, the principal admits that he does not have control over the janitors in the school. In New York City, the janitor is not under the supervision of the principal of the individual school, but instead has a supervisor at the Central Board of Education. At the beginning of each school year, each custodian is allocated a certain sum of money with which he must accomplish the maintenance and upkeep tasks in the school. It is up to the custodian to allocate this money, and he/she has the option of subcontracting some of the work. According to Sontag:

> I really don't have supervisory authority over the custodial staff. I don't have full supervisory authority over the custodian. I rate him, but if I were to complain about him, I'd have to go to Central Maintenance. He has another

> supervisor at Central Maintenance. So it's a kind of bifurcated responsibility over him. Now, he can say to me, go to hell, with a hell of a lot greater impunity than anyone else can ((direct quote. Interview)).

The custodian in Sheridan really has a tremendous amount of leverage and autonomy concerning the way he carries out his job. Even the principal, who maintains some sort of control over everyone, does not exercise his control over the custodian. There are many things Sontag could do to make the custodian's life less pleasant in Sheridan, but Sontag realizes that the custodian has something that he needs. If the school is to be kept up, looking good, in good working order, Sontag is beholden to remaining in the good graces of the custodian. In an interview, Sontag describes the relationship:

> He is both a salaries employee and an individual entrepreneur. He gets a certain salary and then he's given a certain amount of money to run the school. If he can run it and keep it in good shape more efficiently then he can save some of that money for himself. Yeah. I believe so. I'm not altogether sure of this arrangement, but there is such an arrangement. That he gets paid for certain extra functions, but he has the same manpower around. You know, suppose there isn't even a function. He gets paid for it. So he has a man. So he gives him a couple of bucks, but he makes a couple of bucks, you see. So give a guy ten bucks. He gets 18. So he puts 18 in the bank for himself, although he has made no contribution to that. So he can make a lot of money depending upon the uses of this school. Sheridan has lots of uses because all during the summer they have the swimming pool. There's an evening school there. So the custodian gets extra money for that. So that's all their crazy deal. Now, when the firemen refused to pay for the lot, the custodian could have enforced it. ((This is an incident in which the firemen were using the parking lot across the street and were supposed to pay for it or do something with it.)) But no custodian wanted to. Well, Milton Drucker said go to work on him. I said no, let's not begin to make a major issue. I spoke with him. I had a long talk with him. I showed him the rationale for what we were doing and I

pointed out that I didn't create the system, that I recognized deficiencies in the system but it was the best we could get into and that we really needed his cooperation. He said he'll do what he could. He came back and he said ok, I compromised it for you. Which he really didn't do, but it saved everybody's face. Now, had he not compromised it, I would have rendered lots of decisions adverse to him, which I may have to do anyway. For example, he's not entitled to a school phone because he's an individual entrepreneur. I closed my eyes to that regulation, but my eyes have recently been officially opened. So I may have to remove his phone. I wouldn't like to do it, because he gave me some of the things I wanted. I believe that the contract says that you have to wash all the damn walls in the building every year. The other guy cried on my shoulder. He couldn't do it. He's doing it. ((The current custodian.)) So I'm ready to give him another 80 bucks a year or 100 bucks a year which is what his phone amounts to. That's piddling, you see. You're forgetting the big things, forgetting two thousand dollars worth of work from him in washing walls. The kids come back, everything is spotless and all the hanging paint is pulled down and so on. The building looks good.

E: So it's a very touchy kind of relationship.

S: In every school. In every school. It is so in every school in the city.

Thus, the janitors in Sheridan Park High School have more control over the principal than possibly anyone else in that school. The power they have derives from the formal structure in which the lines of authority run from the supervisor at the Central Board to the custodian, with the principal only an incidental supervisor whose supervisory control carries minimal weight unless it is substantiated at the Central Board. Mr. Sontag could obtain control if he were to take punitive measures against the custodian, but he would be losing some services of the janitor, which in turn would reflect badly on the school and on Mr. Sontag's leadership. The principal is in a bind.

2. Gatekeepers: Secretaries, Clerks, Security Personnel, School Aides

All of our examples in this section come from Sheridan. As we have pointed out in earlier sections, there are gatekeepers at every level of the hierarchy. These are the people who control access to space, information and resources, although in this section we will be dealing primarily with the task of keeping unwanted personnel out of the school, and protecting authorized personnel within the school. In all three schools, there are gatekeeping mechanisms (passes, forbidden territory, control of what can be taken in or out of the cafeteria, who can be where at what time), but the urban school has the largest array of people responsible for performing this job. This may be partially a function of size, and type of bureaucratic structure, but also may feed on the real or imagined dangers of New York City.

The first experience we had with gatekeepers in Sheridan took place the very first day of observation. Our fieldworker met one of the main gatekeepers, Mrs. Baer, who is responsible for signing outside people in at the door. On his return the next day, Mrs. Baer told him he did not have to sign in, as she remembered him from the day before. Here we have the personal relationship impinging on the rule and allowing for a certain amount of flexibility in the rule. (The fieldworker was still an outsider and if Mrs. Baer had been following the rules closely, would have checked the additional authorization the fieldworker had been required to obtain. As it was, she relied on her recollection of his face and an understanding of his general function in the school, and thus skipped several steps.) Substantiation of the role played by Mrs. Baer came the following day, when the fieldworker said that,

> the security person inside the door, a young man with a moustache, asked what my business was there. I told him that I was an anthropological observer in the school and that Mrs. Baer at the admissions table knew who I was. Her name was a sufficient password and he let me pass. I spoke to Mrs. Baer and entered the school.

Our fieldworkers had a good deal of contact with gatekeepers of information in the school. Their attempts at getting at school records and information met with resistance from two of the clerks in the main office, who told the researchers that they needed letters and official documentation in order to have access to rather uncontroversial school records (size, population, numbers, etc., not student records).

Gatekeeping of students takes place throughout the school, but the most important place is at the main entrance. The security people here are in charge of making sure that the students who do come in should be there, and are behaving well enough to be there. Since students are on different schedules, their days start and end at different times, and those whose classes do not begin until later in the day may not enter until that period. Our fieldworker describes the scene:

> There are two security aides stationed at the external main doors. Only one of the external doors is opened for those entering. These are huge metal doors. These men allow people in one at a time, if they're students or if they're teachers. If kids start to give them a hard time, they are the ones that keep them out. If kids aren't supposed to be in, for instance, if their schedules don't begin until the third period, and they try to enter at the beginning of the second, then they are kept out.

Stanley White, who is the main security guard for Sheridan, is a literal gatekeeper. He is formally assigned to that duty, but also interprets the role beyond its formal limits; he knows everybody in the school, and like the custodians in Sheffield, knows quite a bit about what goes on in the school. He is always stationed in front of the auditorium. He is an information source for schedules, procedures, and personnel identification, and a gatekeeper for determining who can come in and what behavior is acceptable from a security standpoint. He is also a generalized institution expert. The fieldworker reports:

> Then Stanley told me, you know, we're on special bell schedules today. I said yeah, I knew that. He said yeah, they always do that just before vacations, just before school gets out because the kids always get kind of crazy. He said there's no learning going on now. He said learning is all finished now. He said so they cut the day down just so the kids don't get too chaotic.

In order for Stanley to perform his job efficiently, he must have access to information about schedules and attendance procedures. As we have noted throughout this section, Sheridan is highly organized and scheduled, and in theory, at least, everyone has a program, students and teachers alike. Stanley has expanded the formal limits of his job of making sure that people abide by these rules by becoming knowledgeable about some of the inner workings and motivations of the school. We also have evidences that he is an authority on Sheridan's history, students, and general routines.

The elevator operators, of whom there are three, are also gatekeepers. Most students are not supposed to take the elevator, but a lot do and the elevator operators are always arguing with them to stay off. According to Henry Mazur, the teacher, the elevator operators "probably know more kids than probably 2/3 to 3/4 of the teachers." ((paraphrase)) The familiarity of the operators with the identities of the students and their ability or attempts to control the students' use of the elevator is an example of gatekeeping.

One very interesting formal position in Sheridan is not replicated in our other schools. School aides are paraprofessionals, generally just a little older than the students, and often graduates or former students of Sheridan themselves. They are responsible for hall patrols and general back up security. But because they are close in age to the students, and probably for other reasons as well (possibly a tendency to side more with the students than the administration who had been and still are controllers of their own behavior), the school aides act in the role of home rulers. They are the people who enforce many of the rules concerning space use, but they have less trouble doing so, and do it less adamantly, than regular security people or teachers and administrators. They are more readily accepted by the students because they are one of their own, and also do not have a particular personal interest in seeing that order is kept for the sake of the school's image. In this sense, they are similar to the janitors in Sheffield, in that the school aides are adults who are not linked to the rest of the adult population in Sheridan; again, they are on a much lower prestige level (a UFT executive meeting demonstrates this in a discussion about what the qualifications are for becoming a school aide, and criticisms about their backgrounds and training). Still, the students realize that the aides must do their jobs or they will not remain, and the fieldworkers report that students harbor few ill feelings toward the aides because of their understanding of the structure of the institution. One incident shows the school aide taking action against some rule-breaking students, but with a certain attitude of flexibility and understanding that might not be found if the rule enforcer were an administrator or teacher. Our fieldworker reports that he has come upon a group of girls singing in harmony in the stairwell, and that they sounded just beautiful. The aide came along and didn't interrupt them, but waited until they had finished their song.

> I told the girls that they had sounded extremely good and they seemed pleased. The woman said, but now they have three pink slips. Then she made some remark to them about having to find some other place to practice. But the aide did not seem at all upset with them.

3. Institution Maintainers: Principal's Secretaries

In two of our schools at least, we found that the principal's secretary echoed the administrative line of the school, and supported both the formal administrative policy and the principal's interpretation of the policy. The secretaries generally support the behaviors associated with the interpretation of the role their principal assumes, either openly or by their lack of outright opposition. If you recall the account in the principal's section where Mr. Sontag talks about the dilemma of contacting ill teachers (sometimes seen as checking up; when not done, taken as lack of concern), Joan Kaplan is also present. Joan says, "damned if you do and damned if you don't" ((paraphrase)). Joan has not only been the secretary to Mr. Sontag, but has been the secretary to the previous principals and has been in the school for many years. Her loyalty is less to Mr. Sontag personally than it is to the school generally, and her desire is to see the institution maintained and kept in good working order. She can probably be classified as a "local" in that she has accepted the ideology and goals of the organization, and is attached to the school rather than to the particular employer.

In Green Valley, Mrs. Gowdy takes a similar stance in relation to Mr. Wyatt. In one incident, Mrs. Gowdy supports Mr. Wyatt's interpretation of the rules. According to the fieldworker, Mrs. Gowdy takes a strong stand on rules. A teacher told a student to confess to the principal about some infraction of the rules, on the assumption that the student would receive a lighter punishment for being honest and out front about it. But Mr. Wyatt took a hard stand and punished the student. When the teacher complained to Wyatt's secretary about the injustice of Wyatt's actions, Mrs. Gowdy defended Wyatt.

In an incident in which students and the cafeteria teacher were embroiled in a dispute over some food illicitly smuggled out of the cafeteria, Mrs. Gowdy assumed the role of principal in Mr. Wyatt's absence. Her activation of this authority adds another dimension to her role as administration and institution supporter, in that while she lacks the formal duty of replacing the principal, she assumes this role when there is a leadership vacuum in a given situation in the school, thereby allowing the school to continue running smoothly without any further disturbance of the formal lines of authority or standard procedures for dealing with conflict.

Roles of Students

Students occupy a curious place in the social structure of the high school. They are either left off the formal organization charts, or included with no differentiation and no connecting lines of authority under the other positions in the school. They are sometimes viewed as clients of the institution, and at other times as children of the parent-replacing school. They have no choice about using the service of the school; they must be there according to law. The in loco parentis nature of the school's authority over students (which is now in question) further adds to the ambiguity of the student's position, because the kind of authority a parent has over a child is a matter of personal discretion and judgment. While the school is more limited than a parent in this respect, the boundaries of its behavior are often patterned after parental treatment of children, notably the imposition of the "because I say so" justification for a rule or requirement. Teachers cannot use corporal punishment by law, but very few other controls over school staff's behavior in relation to students are specified.

The position is an ascribed, rather than an acquired status. An acquired status is a position which is attained by a member of the society by virtue of something the person has done to earn him that title. It is not automatic; it is not a position the person was born into or moved into automatically. An ascribed status, however, is one in which the person has little or no choice. The standard example is that of a caste in India, where the caste member has no choice about which caste he/she belongs to. It is the one he/she is born into which determines his/her membership. A student also has no choice. The title of student is an ascribed status. All children in the United States are required to attend school until they are sixteen. Once a child enters a school, the child becomes a student. The child cannot walk out of the school and become something instead of a student. A teacher can leave the school forever and become a lawyer or a plumber.

The only really significant formal duty of the status of student is that the student must physically be in the school a certain number of days per year for a certain number of years of his life. From the standpoint of the institution, the student is necessary only because a certain amount of money is allocated per student. Thus the more students who attend, the more money. The school must see to it that attendance is kept up, or else it will have a hard time justifying the per student allocation total. We will see how this attendance requirement corresponds to one of the main student roles we have discovered in our research, namely that of "warm or live bodies."

Roles that students play within the school are of two main types. The first involve roles that are necessary from the standpoint of the institution. These would include not only warm bodies, but also all those students who bring prestige to the school in some way and/or additional revenues, such as athletes and student organization types. But most of the student roles we observed were not necessary to the effective functioning of the school; in fact, many portions of that institution could run much more efficiently if they did not have students at all. The second category of roles was more the result of the development of the culture of students; and in fact, there is a separate culture of students and adults in the schools we have observed. We will try to outline some of the roles that the institution recognizes and responds to, and some of the roles that students have developed in response to the institution.

One other problem we faced in identifying student roles involved the transient nature of the student within the institution. Unlike other personnel connected to the school, students stay for only three or four years, knowing all the time that their tenure there is temporary and finite. Thus, students do not develop as many specialized roles as do adults in schools.

General Expectations of Students by Others

Students are generally expected by teachers and administrators to follow rules, attend classes, and perform the demanded tasks. In the following comments, we can get an idea of what teachers think about students and their expectations of them.

In Sheffield, one teacher points out the drawbacks of the mass requirement for attendance. He says:

> You get lower expectations and then you start passing kids if they're in attendance. So you have kids who are really just doing nothing, just showing up every day and they end up passing and their expectations are raised and then they get shot down.

This comment refers both to the role of students as warm bodies and to one of the explicit goals of the school, which is to prepare the student for something beyond high school.

Following a faculty conference at Sheridan on how to deal with problem students (those who speak out in class, can't stay in their seats, etc.), Sy Cohen, a teacher, tells the fieldworker that in his opinion,

> everybody had been over these things so many times before that the meetings served very little other than an official purpose. Then he started to plumb a little deeper and he started to talk about the way the questions on the agenda describe a certain kind of consistent behavior which he implied was expected from every student at all times.

The expected behavior included students raising hands, participating in class, not talking out of turn, coming to class on time, handing in homework.

Another Sheridan teacher told his class that there would be visitors coming the next day--the chairman of the department and possibly the principal--and suggested that the people in the class who didn't usually talk do so. Here we see the teacher needing the students to behave according to the formal role expectations so that the teacher's image as an instructor will be enhanced and so that the teacher will get a good rating in his evaluation, which will be based on how well he elicits responses from his students. His evaluation, of course, is directly related to concerns about the security of his job as a teacher in Sheridan.

Henry Mazur discussed the transience of the student's position with the fieldworker, saying that:

> one thing you have to remember is that the student's commitments aren't permanent. By the time they get to a position where they can act on things, they are going to be gone ((paraphrase)).

Later he said students

> are sort of like the guests in a hotel. They don't really have a stake in it. They're sort of transitory ((paraphrase)).

In previous sections, we have asked what functions members of each position have had to perform in order to keep the school running smoothly and also why the person in the position would be motivated to keep the school running smoothly. Students, as Henry Mazur points out, have less stake in the smooth operation of the school. In answer to why they would need to perform according to the expectations of others in the school, we would have to look to such things as wanting to graduate, wanting to get into college. But there is very little power available to students in the schools we have observed, and it is almost impossible for students to develop any real ownership or stake in the school. This is due both to their limited or nonexistent power and the transience of their stay.

Types of Student Roles

1. Live Bodies

In all three of our schools, teachers and administrators referred to students as live or warm bodies. Students were seen as just being there, and not necessarily doing anything else except fulfilling the requirement of attendance.

Morty Hyman, a music teacher from Sheridan, used this term even when he was referring to students who were doing something other than just being there. He referred to the violinists in the orchestra as "the only 14 live bodies who are string players" ((quote)). Here live bodies seems to be totally synonymous with students. In Sheffield, a teacher calls students "warm bodies" but the intent is exactly the same.

In Green Valley, the radical social studies teacher tells the fieldworker how he gave the kids a list of student rights. The fieldworker reports:

> he said in dismay that they couldn't get it together to do anything. He'd apparently given them a sheet on student rights earlier this week and while everyone understood the sheet no one seemed interested in acting on them or pushing even the idea of them. He feels that by senior year, the students--even these, who are still the most vocal and clearheaded--have been so beaten down that they simply can't do the slightest bit of organizing.

This brings up the possibility that perhaps the school, as it exists now, in some way encourages or creates the live bodies role of students.

2. Good Students, Student Organization Types, School Leaders

This is just the beginning of a category of roles, but we insert it here to make one point. There are many students who are recognized by the administration or the faculty as being student leaders, good students, or outstanding in some field. But students in both Sheridan and Green Valley point out to the researchers that students who are recognized by the administration and faculty are not necessarily so regarded by their fellow students. But of the roles that are accorded validity by the school, some that are formalized, are often considered less than important by the students of whom they are supposed to be leaders.

Such roles as "eager beaver" which was referred to in the event analysis, are recognized by teachers who can then manipulate the role to serve their own ends. In that case, the eager beaver functioned to maintain the teacher's control over the class and avoid the embarrassment of the teacher over the non-participation of the class. The eager beaver aided the teacher in fulfilling her role of instructor and obtaining class participation. What it did for the student is another question.

3. Ritual Challengers and Troublemakers, and Rule Breakers

Rule breaking in our three schools is not deviant behavior, but rather the norm. In the three schools, it takes on different forms and goes to different degrees. In Sheridan, our researchers noticed that there was kind of ritual challenge and response that coincided with the complementary roles attached to the statuses of teacher and student. This occurred over and over again, in class and out. We have called this student role that of "ritual challenger," which is defined as someone who not only breaks the rules, but does it blatantly, forcing a response from the teacher. The student is responding in some way to the controls imposed on his or her behavior by the administration, the faculty, or by the legal requirements such as attendance of the school itself. We have a series of illustrations taken directly from the field notes of this behavior in Sheridan:

> --The English teacher yelled at Mildred to be quiet. Mildred said no. The teacher said yes and Mildred said no. This kind of talk and back talk was constant throughout the period.
>
> --When the teacher asked one of the students, a boy sitting in the middle of the room, wearing a fatigue jacket, to write a sentence on the board, he sat there sullenly and refused to get up. She approached him and pushed on him and kidded him somewhat but he did not go up to the board

and she let the matter drop. She also yelled at a girl sitting in the second row from the front whose name was Diane. Diane immediately yelled back, leave me alone, teacher.

--Early in Mrs. Perlin's class a black girl sitting in the second row from the right at the front of the room unwrapped a lollipop and proceeded to eat it unconcernedly. The teacher looked sideways at this but did not say anything.

--Mr. Hogue's accounting class. A girl came in and started abusing him quite harshly and loudly and sassily. She said, "I'll smack you in your face, you ugly punk." Then she told him, you're getting fat. Mr. Hogue did not resist or protest in any way. He just sort of looked at her in a sort of amused way and waited for the class to begin.

--Ben Malka's electronic data processing class. A tall black boy wearing glasses and afro who was also wearing a blue wool jacket with his name sewn onto it raised his hand and said, Mr. Malka, may I please have a pass? Then he added, this time I'll ask politely. You should give it to me, in a rather defiant tone of voice. He got a pass and left the room.

--There were two black girls sitting at the extreme right of the classroom as you face the teacher, sitting next to each other at the table, directly in front of me. They were talking to each other and the teacher asked one of the girls to move. The one kid wouldn't move, didn't say anything to the teacher, didn't even acknowledge that the teacher had said anything. I think her name was Rita. The teacher said again, Rita, I asked you to move. Then Rita said, all right, all right, I'll move. She didn't move her seat at all and kept talking to her friend. Then the teacher said again, Rita, I told you. I asked you to move. Now let's go. She said it in a very definite tone in her voice of annoyance. Her tone was becoming more demanding. But she was not yet raising her voice. Then Rita shouted back at her, never looked at her, but just called out in a very loud voice, Wait! Then the teacher turned away and looked at some of the other kids and then answered one or two questions.

These accounts are just some of many that our fieldworkers reported. In each situation, the student is deviating in some way from the acceptable and expected behavior of the role of student, and is directly challenging the teacher. In every situation, the student is responding to established constraints placed on his or her behavior, on limits about when talking or moving around is permissible. The student is challenging the established constraint, and in the illustrations above, is successful and wins the right to do what he/she wanted. Students can be viewed as taking the little power available to them through their manipulation of the ritual challenger role and using it to fulfill their needs.

In contrast to the ritual challenger act, we may recall the incident in Steve Henson's art class, where the student assumes the role of "truth-teller" rather than going into the ritual challenger act, and tries to take care of her needs in the situation by telling it like it is, and asking the teacher why they have to go through the bullshit when he knows that she doesn't have a legitimate excuse for being late to class. But this strategy does not work with Henson, who sends her to the dean. Ritual challenge probably would have failed in that situation, too, but might have the advantage of being a more socially acceptable way of dealing with teacher/student conflicts in that the superficially joking nature of it helps save face for the teacher. In Steve Henson's art class, the fact that the fieldworker was observing this interaction might have contributed to the teacher's resorting to the formal teacher role of disciplinarian; ritual response might have been more image preserving.

4. Class Clowns

We bring in this role because it appeared repeatedly in our field data, because it is a traditionally recognized student role, and because it is an example of the second type of role which is a necessary part of the student subculture but not such a necessary part of the entire school culture. There is one student in Sheridan who we saw in many classes as playing this role. He performs various socioemotional functions in relation to the class and to his fellow students. The clown cutting up affords his classmates the chance to interact with one another, to support his cutting up with laughter and camaradarie; this contributes to the cohesiveness and harmony of the student group, serves to relieve tension, and provides comic relief.

5. Informants, Linking Pins, and Spies

There are some students in our schools who act to link their fellow students with the adults in the institution. Depending on which side you are viewing these students from, they can be considered informants, informers, linking pins, or spies. Sheffield especially makes use of these students to help provide information and to control other students.

Mr. Chevalier of Sheffield informs the researcher that there are students who tell him things all the time. These are students with whom he is very friendly and who he can always rely upon to give him the truth about what is going on in the school. He knows at least one of the students from the time she was four years old. He says that some students play a role as intermediates between the administration and the students. In addition, teachers often have student informants and that this is not unusual, since over time, teachers build up friendships with students and these students usually tell them honestly what is going on in a particular situation.

But a discussion between the principal and the assistant principal of our suburban school demonstrates that there are other uses for these students. In trying to decide what kind of punishment to come up with for a group of rule-breakers, the administrators decide to allow a group of students on the student council and the judiciary committee to decide punishment for these fellow students. In a later discussion, the A.P. says that the only way to smoke out the trouble-makers is to put on peer pressure. Thus, the administration is capitalizing on their good relations with these students and using them to punish other students.

6. Ritual Specialists

As we have pointed out, all levels of the school play the ritual specialist game of interpreting the rules and trying to make their interpretations stick. Naturally, students very rarely can make their definitions stick, but there are instances when they succeed. Students often have the reputation of being very conservative and inclined to restrict themselves to very strict interpretations, even when it goes against attempts by others to give the students more autonomy. For example, in Green Valley, Mr. Burton tells his students to grade themselves. The students react very strongly against this, saying that this is not the way it is done. The change in procedure would in turn alter the role of the student and the expectations the teacher has of the student. It would require the student to be much more responsible, or at least take the responsibility for irresponsibility which heretofore he/she had pushed off on the teacher.

7. Brokers

One of the most important student roles which we observed was that of students who acted as links between the student and adult cultures. We have already discussed student roles as "eager beavers" and as informants or spies. The students who play these roles give adults an ally among the students, but the students who play these roles are often not trusted by other students, especially if the other students feel they are being sold out. The true student broker is a student who is both accorded prestige and respect by other students and who also cooperates with some adult. Especially in Sheridan, we observed that the presence or absence of such a student in a classroom where students and teacher are struggling for control of the course of activity can decide the issue. If a student respected by other students cooperates with the teacher, then the teacher can much more easily bridge the gaps of age, hierarchical status, and, in Sheridan, ethnicity, which often separate teacher from students and thus hinder cooperation in learning.

Roles of Specialized Personnel--Nurses and Guidance Counselors

1. Nurses--Sheffield

School nurses, in addition to their formal duties for attending to the health care of the school population, act as student friends, babysitters, and bathroom patrols. In Sheffield, one of the nurses opens her office to students, and when she makes her rounds of the bathrooms every period, kicks the girls out who are smoking, but doesn't suspend them. Instead, she tells them that it is bad for their health. This is an example of a person playing the role of monitor, but applying the rules of no smoking because of her concern for the welfare of the target of the rules, rather than her desire to see the rules enforced for the sake of enforcement.

We also know that there had been some debate earlier in the year concerning who was to be responsible for patrolling the bathrooms for illegal smoking. Possibilities were hiring matrons or assigning teachers a regular schedule of monitoring the bathroom. But the teachers felt this would strain their roles and compromise their professional positions as teachers. So a second school nurse was hired with the explicit additional duty of acting as bathroom monitor.

This second nurse also describes her reluctant role as babysitter. The fieldworker reports:

> I was talking to Mr. Chevalier informally near the main door and Mrs. Goldstein, the nurse, came up and complained that a number of students had been sent down to the nurse's office because they had fallen asleep in class. Mrs. Goldstein said that she didn't think that she was running a nursery for children to take naps in. Mr. Chevalier just

> sort of laughed off her complaint. Mrs. Goldstein repeated that she didn't think it was fair that she should be responsible for students who are not staying awake in class and at this point Mr. Chevalier was called away by another teacher.

Mr. Chevalier and Mrs. Goldstein have a small disagreement over the formal limits of her job description. Mr. Chevalier indicates by his lack of support of Mrs. Goldstein that he feels that this babysitting role is included in the interpretation of her formal duties.

2. Guidance Counselors--Sheridan--Student advocates

In Sheridan, Edith Weissman is the Assistant Principal in charge of Pupil Personnel Services. We have several accounts of her outlining the role of the guidance counselor, and the dilemmas the counselor faces, the gist of which is that "the guidance counselor's role is as an advocate of the students to defend against teachers or administration" ((paraphrase)). She also talks about the necessity of separating guidance from discipline, as the disciplinary function compromised the helping and advocate role of the counselor. Edith Weissman mentions that principals often have difficulty in accepting this role of student advocate, since it sometimes requires that the counselor go against an administration policy or fight against a teacher for the sake of the student.

In fact, guidance counselors in Sheridan do perform "disciplinary" roles. Students who are having problems in school are sent to the counselors. Many of these problems revolve around lack of attendance. The guidance counselors end up by enforcing attendance rules and other administrative policies, using these infractions as starting points in their help for the students.

What is really significant about the role of the guidance counselor in all our schools is that the position did not come about until sometime within the last twenty years. It is an example of a function that was needed and was probably being performed by people assuming emergent roles. These emergent roles were persuasive enough to convince the institution of the school to formalize the role. This happened in a rather widespread manner, so that now guidance counselors are quite well integrated positions in the school. In the next and final section, we will discuss the implications of formalizing emergent roles.

Conclusions

1. The inevitability of emergent roles in the organization of the school.

From the bureaucratic point of view, it might seem that an efficient and well run institution will have few emergent roles, since it is effectively taking care of the needs of its members, as well as providing for the needs of the organization. In schools, however, while this might be possible in the far distant future, it seems that we are dealing with such a variety of non-uniform tasks, such a transient and changing population and such a wide sample of explicit and implicit goals that a school cannot possibly be all things to all people. It is our hypothesis that there will always be an informal network of power relations in the school that are not named in the formal organization chart; further, we feel that there will always be roles on all levels of the hierarchy which emerge in response to some situation, political or social, not recognized by the formal organization. In Sheridan, guidance counselors experience a different kind of role strain in their relations with students and administrators when they are caught between being "student advocates" and being responsible to the institution and administration which hired and pays them.

2. Role strain and limitations on roles.

Since one status can have a number of roles attached to it, there is always the possibility that one role can be in conflict with another role. In Sheridan, Department Chairmen are half administrators and half teachers. Sometimes administrative policies are made at the expense of teachers, and these policies, such as demand for close adherence to the DLP, may hurt the teacher role of the chairmen. In Green Valley the guidance counselors are in an ostracized position, because the other teachers see them as part of the administration, while the administration views them as teachers. As a result, the guidance counselors stick together and are avoided by everyone else.

In Sheridan, the industrial arts teacher, Paul DiAngelo, told the fieldworker about how he placed limits on his role. He had been warned in college (where he was trained) that schools tend to use the shops as repairmen. The researcher tells us that

> Paul said he does not allow himself to be used this way and that if a teacher brings down something to be fixed, he tells them well, if we have time. But it might be a month, two months. You'll just have to leave it and take your chances...
>
> He said that when he first started teaching at Sheridan which is the first school he's taught at, he thought he was "up shit creek" the first time that he was there because Mr. Sontag had asked him to refinish the furniture in his office. He said he had refused and then worried about it, but there had been no consequences.

3. Consequence of formalizing emergent roles

In one sense, it is in the institution's interest to formalize emergent roles and incorporate them into the structure of the school. In this way, the emergent role no longer threatens the existing setup, and the adjustments that need to be made to accommodate the new position are minor and can be dealt with through existing channels of negotiation and authority.

On the other hand, formalizing an emergent role often has the effect of coopting the role, and making it a tool of the administration, rather than continuing to provide for a need that was not being taken care of by the school. For instance, in Sheridan, one of the guidance counselors, Dave Timberlake, also became the rap room counselor and the peer group counselor, both emergent roles created by other people that were formalized by either the school or the Central Board of Education. Dave is not particularly trusted by the students, and the fact that he is formally designated as a student pal does not add to his trustworthiness. Whether this is a result of personality dislikes or the tendency of the students to not trust what the administration condones is a question we cannot answer here. But we do know that another person in the school, who is not a teacher and works with the drug program is considered a role model by the students and it is he who functions in the role that Dave Timberlake is supposed to be playing. This situation suggests that some roles are too closely tied to one individual personality to be effectively formalized.

When we consider the phenomenon of political roles in schools, we see that many of those roles, by their very nature, cannot be formalized. We speak here of the roles of resistance to the formal constraints of the institution, such as the system of hierarchy. The Communist Chinese have tried to institutionalize "continuing revolution" but the paradox of this situation should be obvious.

In the next Unit, "Sorting, Territoriality, and Autonomy," we will continue our analysis of the three schools, this time taking as our unit of analysis the unique individual. We will try to see how the individual reacts to the social facts described in these first two units in order to survive or succeed in the school organization.

UNIT III

SORTING, TERRITORIALITY, AND AUTONOMY: INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP AGENDAS

INTRODUCTION

In the previous two sections, we have focused on generalized patterns of behavior. In the first unit, we conducted our analysis at the level of analysis of two broad sets of structural organizing principles which we called bureaucratic and organic forms of organization. In the second unit, we conducted our analysis at the level of the roles, both formal and emergent, that people play in life in schools. In this way, the analysis, as it moved from the first to the second unit, became less abstract in that it moved from the point of view of the organization to the point of view of generalized patterns of behavior of individuals. In making the distinction between formal and emergent roles, we noted that people must often create roles for themselves that had not previously existed in the institution in response to emergent needs and pressures of organizational life. These emergent roles, then, are somewhat less generalized patterns of behavior than are formal roles because emergent roles are in the process of being created by particular individuals and are often closely tied to the unique personalities of those individuals. To some extent, however, the emergent role must be transferable to other individuals or we would not consider this behavior to be role behavior since roles refer to generalized patterns of behavior.

In this third unit, the level of analysis will explicitly be the unique behavior of unique individuals in unique situations. We will start directly from real situations taken from our field notes and then ask how the actions and attitudes of the people in these incidents are constrained by the kinds of social fa[illegible]escribed in the first unit. In the first units, we started from certain patterns of behavior and illustrated those patterns with examples. In this unit, the process is reversed. We will begin with the examples and then see to what extent what we see in those incidents is explainable in terms of patterns of behavior discussed in the first two units.

The analysis in the first two units has been for the most part structured for you, although we have tried to make as clear as possible the way in which we made inferences and the evidence upon which we based our inferences in order that the reader be able to assess the validity of the analysis for him/herself. In this unit, each incident will be accompanied by comments and suggestions for analysis, but, since our theoretical framework will already have been unfolded and the raw data will be right in front of you, the responsibility for the analysis will be much more in the hands of the reader than it was in the first two units. Our hope for this unit is to involve the reader as fully as possible in the process of analyzing social action.

The incidents in this unit will illustrate many of the patterns examined in the first two units, but they have also been chosen around a theme: that there are domains of autonomy which individuals and groups create for themselves in organizations and spend much of their time trying to maintain. The actions which individuals and groups take in order to establish and maintain domains of autonomy we will refer to either their strategies or as their agendas. The concept of the individual strategy also corresponds to our third and least abstract level of analysis, the level of the individual actor. In this light, we will relate the abstract levels of structural and role analysis to the life and actions of real, living people by considering bureaucratic and organic and role influences as the elements of the strategies of individuals. When we talk about group agendas, we are simply saying that individuals do not always act in isolation but sort themselves into groups for coooperative action. The purpose of using three levels of analysis in this way and attempting to establish as clearly as possible the inter-relations of the three levels of analysis is in order to overcome a conceptual and methodological difficulty which often plagues social scientists, i.e., how can one avoid the dilemma of either having to reduce individuals to types and abstractions, or, if we refuse to do this, how can one keep from ignoring the recognizable patterns of behavior that do exist? On the one hand, one does not wish to explain a particular piece of behavior by saying, "Oh, he acts that way because he is a high school teacher." That doesn't explain very much since he is a whole person and not merely a high school teacher and also because being a high school teacher does not necessarily involve only one kind of behavior. On the other hand, there may be common elements in the behavior of this person and other high school teachers, and, if we can isolate the common elements of that role (as well as the range of variation) then we have learned something about high schools. By considering generalized patterns of behavior as constraints to which individuals react in various ways, one is able to see the relation between the pattern and the particular instance. One also achieves the valuable result of being able to see the extent and limits of a pattern of behavior and the range of variation within the pattern. In this way, one avoids reducing individuals to types and one keeps firmly in mind the notion that the laws established by social scientists are much more like the laws of the judicial system than like the laws of the natural scientists. This is to say that the laws of social interaction are never fixed, formulaic, and immutable. Rather, like the laws discussed by lawyers in court, they are constantly being subjected to varying and conflicting interpretations and manipulations. People do have definite patterns of expectations of each others' behavior. Society could not operate otherwise, but many different kinds of expectations (we have discussed bureaucratic and organic constraints and the constraints of formal and emergent roles) exist in any given situation. The people in a given situation are always balancing these expectations against each other, usually in pursuit of some goal, whether that goal be the learning of a math lesson or simply hanging out. The reconciliation of conflicting goals in a particular situation, or the deciding of the agenda, is accomplished by the invocation and manipulation of these patterns of expectations.

In our previous discussions of sorting behavior in the three schools, we concentrated mainly on the sorting behavior that occurs within each status of the hierarchy. We have not yet spent much of our energy discussing what may seem to be obvious, which is that hierarchy itself is probably the most important of all bureaucratic influences on sorting. Teachers tend to associate with teachers, students with students, administrators with administrators, and so on. When we began our study, we decided that it was very important not to simply assume hierarchical sorting for a number of reasons. We wanted, for example, not to limit our perceptions of emergent roles, e.g. that janitors may sometimes act more like disciplinarians than teachers, that teachers may have more influence on policy than principals. Most of the incidents in this unit will deal with situations in which some kind of sorting behavior between hierarchical statuses is observable. Our hypothesis is that a certain amount of autonomy develops within each hierarchical level, that is that certain kinds of behavior become considered the property of certain groups which establish and maintain their exclusive right to act that way. This kind of autonomy differs from the concept of functional autonomy discussed in Unit I. Functional autonomy is autonomy considered solely from the point of view of the formally stated goals of the organization. A person possesses functional autonomy if he/she possesses more expertise on a certain phase of the organization's operations than does anyone else in the organization. The autonomy that is the subject of this unit is autonomy considered from the standpoint of the individual and the goals of that individual (or from the standpoint of a group of individuals cooperating in pursuit of a common goal). The autonomy of the individual or group can thus even be dysfunctional from the standpoint of the organization if the goals of the organization and the goals of the individual are not in accord, though individual and group autonomy is not necessarily dysfunctional. One question we will be asking all the way through this section is to what extent the group autonomy that comes about as a result of hierarchical and other influences on sorting is functional or dysfunctional in terms of educational goals, both the goals of these particular schools and the educational goals that we ourselves have as individuals who are members of the larger society in which all this educational activity takes place and which society should be served by educational institutions. This last consideration, that of the individual's goals for the larger society, must of course be filled in by each individual reader of these materials.

One final concept which we have used heretofore and will figure also in this unit is that of territoriality. The territoriality question is quite prominent in the analysis of patterns of sorting and autonomy since individuals and groups in these three schools are often in competition for space. The possession of a turf is both the expression of and means for establishing and maintaining autonomy.

In Incident #1, the Ring Ding Caper, we will work out the analysis of the event in a very detailed way in order to demonstrate the way in which the three levels of analysis are inter-related. We will not work out the analysis on all three levels in the ensuing incidents but will leave that to the reader. The comments and analysis connecting the incidents will merely give suggestions as to what we think the sociologically significant aspects of the behavior recorded in each incident are.

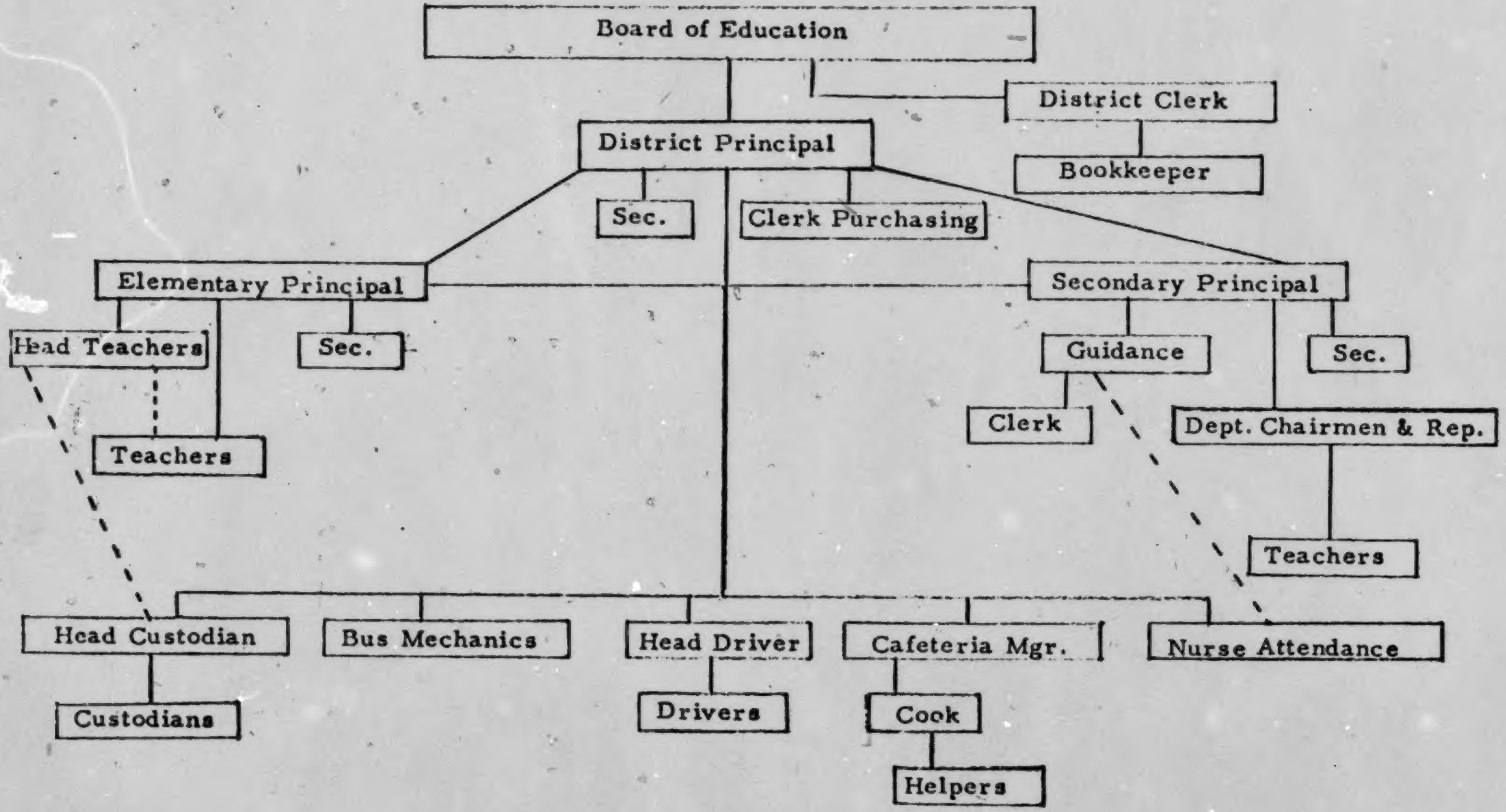
The materials in this unit will be organized in the following manner. The materials on each school will again be presented separately. The first part of the materials on each individual school will deal with incidents that took place outside of the classroom. The second part of each section will deal with classroom observations. Many of the incidents have already been mentioned in the previous units, but they are presented here in their entirety in order that the reader have a chance to decide and analyze for him/herself what seems to be going on here and whether the framework for analysis we have presented seems adequate and/or useful.

Incidents Outside the Classroom: Green Valley High School

Incident #1. Characters: Laurie Horgan, her brother, Joe Horgan, students; other students; Mr. Dendy, a teacher and the cafeteria supervisor; Mrs. Gowdy, the principal's secretary. The following incident is taken from an interview with a student, Laurie Horgan. It is secondhand information, but the student shows herself to be a rather skilled observer, as evidenced by her detailed descriptions of events and participants. The latter part of the interview, in which she elaborates her opinions of the cafeteria disciplinarian, Mr. Dendy, has not been included, because, interesting as her opinions are, they are much less reliable for analysis than her factual action reporting.

Formal Organization Chart

Green Valley Central School


Board of Education
District Clerk
Bookkeeper
District Principal
Sec.
Clerk Purchasing
Elementary Principal
Secondary Principal
Head Teachers
Sec.
Teachers
Guidance
Sec.
Clerk
Dept. Chairmen & Rep.
Teachers
Head Custodian
Bus Mechanics
Head Driver
Cafeteria Mgr.
Nurse Attendance
Custodians
Drivers
Cook
Helpers

The Ring Ding Caper

C: This is Laurie Horgan and me talking. Do you want to tell the story you told about your brother?

L: Well, my brother bought some Ring Dings in the cafeteria and since he knew that he couldn't get them out, he had Bob Winston take them out to him. He said that he was going to go to the boys room, Bob did.

C: Why could Bob Winston get them out if he couldn't?

L: Well, Bob Winston is in the cafeteria. He's on unstructured time which is like a privilege for the student who keeps his marks up and doesn't fail more than two subjects.

C: Oh, and your brother is off unstructured time.

L: Yeah. The only reason he's off unstructured time is because he failed one, I think it's English 11 and he's failing gym and automatically an F keeps you off unstructured time. So Bob finally couldn't get out with the Ring Dings and Mr. Dendy goes well, you can go to the boys room and that's it, but my brother met Bob out in the hall and Bob goes well, I can't get them out, Joe. So Bob came back in and Joe came in with a pass from study hall. Joe goes can I talk to Bob Winston? So he goes over and Bob puts the Ring Dings in my brother's pockets. Meanwhile Mr. Dendy goes well, I don't trust that guy.

C: You heard him say that?

L: Yeah. So my brother looks up and then my brother just jots out the other door to the study hall and meanwhile Mr. Dendy takes off running and everybody's yelling you should be a track star, Mr. Dendy. First my brother ran into the boys room and tells the boys well, you better put out your cigarettes, guys, because there may be a teacher in here. Mr. Dendy was looking out in the hall for him and couldn't find him so he started back in. But then he started back out of the hall and my brother came out and went into study hall. Mr. Dendy ran after him yelling Scott, Scott, Scott. My brother meanwhile throws his jacket to Ronald King and goes Scott who? I'm not Scott. And he goes well, whatever your name is. He goes in and he goes well, what are you doing with those food outside the cafeteria? You know you're not supposed to eat outside. My brother goes well, I'm going to eat it for lunch and besides, it's not all mine. It's Jim Turndale's and Curt Beckmann's. Ronald King goes yeah, and do you have a search warrant. I don't know if Mr. Dendy told him to shut up or what but then he goes do you want to go to the office. My brother said well, it doesn't matter to me. So Mrs. Gowdy comes in and she goes well, what's the problem?

C: Why did she just come in?

L: Well, see like when everything is going wrong and Mr. Wyatt [the principal] is out, then Mrs. Gowdy is like in charge and she handles his job if he has like interviews or something. She tells them where he can be reached and she tried to like settle it quietly.

C: Well, how did she get into the study hall in the first place? This took place in the study hall, right?

L: Right, she was outside, well, in between the door of the office looking in and she saw Mr. Dendy come in here and wonder what's going on and why my brother came running in. Then she asked my brother what was he doing with those outside? He said I wanted it for lunch. She takes the food back into the cafeteria. Meanwhile, my brother goes well, I paid for it and I'm going to keep the food, and all this. Ronald King is still yacking away about you need a search warrant and all that. My brother later on told me that if Ronald had either hid my jacket instead of keeping it there then they wouldn't even knew I had the jacket on or anything. Finally, Mr. Dendy said well, I don't want to catch you in there with food being taken out of the cafeteria. Otherwise you're going to go to the office and I'm going to turn you in for good. When Mr. Dendy came back, Gary Cox came over and said well, why did you have to turn Horgan in. Mr. Dendy goes well, he knows he's not supposed to have food outside the cafeteria and Gary goes well, if I had bought a box of Ring Dings then I would have surely wanted to keep them. Then Hal Selman got into it and said yeah, and I agree with him. Why do you have to take the food away from a kid when it's his food and if he says he's going to eat it later, that doesn't mean he's going to eat it in study hall or something. Then Mr. Dendy looked up and he said who's that girl in the blue dungaree jacket? So he just motions....

C: Who was that?

L: Nancy Wright. He motions with his finger and he said well, who is she and then Mary came and said Nancy Wright and Nancy comes over with ((She was in the cafeteria.)) her books and he goes well, where did you come from? She said I went to see Mrs. Ferguson because I needed to see her immediately. He goes well, why didn't you get a pass? She says, I looked and you weren't here. He goes well, I was out in the hall. She goes no, you weren't, Mr. Dendy. He goes yes I was. She goes no you weren't. I looked and I did not see you out there so I went and I came back. He goes well, ok, but don't let it happen again.

C: He wasn't in the hall. He was in the study hall.

L: Yeah. He was in the study hall. He wasn't in the hall. Like Nancy was really going to get after him because she knew what the Ring Ding business was all about because she's like in a clique with my brother and Jim Turndale and Curt and Carrie Tinsman and Bob Winston and all the other guys that are around him.

C: Who, Carrie Tinsman?

L: Yeah. Carrie Tinsman. Like it's like a certain clique. Even though Gary Cox really isn't in the clique because he just recently moved into Green Valley, he is like starting to get more into the clique now. That's why I think he really started getting in on my brother's defense. It's really amazing how just a thing over Ring Dings could happen. Then my brother was saying that no sooner had second period ended then everybody started running out and said hey, Horgan, hear you got caught taking food out.

Analysis

We are now going to analyze this discrete episode of behavior at three separate levels of analysis, in order to see hwo this apparently unique series of events can be tied into the larger patterns of behavior in Green Valley High School. These three levels of analysis correspond to the three units of instruction which comprise this course. The three levels of analysis are:

1. The structural level, in which the whole school organization is taken as the unit of analysis. In Unit I, we discussed two major forms of organization at the structural level. These are (a) bureaucratic forms of organization and (b) organic forms of organization.

2. The role level, in which generalized patterns of behavior of individuals are taken as the units of analysis.

3. The level of individual strategy, in which the living, unique individual involved in actual, unique situations is taken as the level of analysis.

In the following analysis of the Ring Ding Caper, the procedure will be to move through these three levels of analysis in order, starting at the more abstract level of structures and ending at the concrete level of individual strategies. We will first extract from the incident all of the bureaucratic and organic influences which we see to be operant in this situation. Next we will extract all of the roles (both formal and emergent) which we see people playing in this incident. Finally, we will examine the strategy of a single actor, Joe Horgan, to see how his actions are constrained by the various social facts we have extracted in the first two steps. Strategies could also be described in this way for any other actor. A group strategy could also be described inasmuch as the clique of students in this incident are cooperating as a group in social action.

Analysis at the Structural Level

Bureaucratic Influences

Several school rules are involved in these proceedings. The most important ones which we run across are:

1. No taking food out of the cafeteria or eating in school elsewhere than in the cafeteria.

2. Unstructured time. This rule gives certain mobility privileges to students with acceptable grades.

3. A pass is required to leave the study hall.

4. A pass is required to leave the cafeteria.

5. No smoking in the school (for students. So far all these rules are for students.)

6. The right of a teacher to enforce rules and supervise the conduct of students.

7. Various scheduling regulations specify where both the teacher and the students in this incident are supposed to be during this period.

In addition to these school rules, one external bureaucratic influence, an underlying principle of many county, state, and Federal laws, is involved:

8. The right of an individual to hold private property.

Organic Influences

1. The students involved in this incident are all members of a clique which derives from common residence in the town of Green Valley.

2. The principal's secretary, Mrs. Gowdy, has an informal specialization in the school as a mediator.

3. The students have a clandestine territory, the bathroom.

4. The teacher supervisor in the cafeteria, besides being formally assigned to that duty, has taken on the job so enthusiastically that he has created an informal specialization as a disciplinarian for himself.

Analysis of Roles

Let us now go through the incident and point out some of the most important roles that the actors play toward each other. The list will not be exhaustive, but the roles most crucial to the action will be picked out. First we will list the individual actors and the various roles they play in this scene. Then we will arrange the roles themselves in complementary pairs.

Mr. Dendy enacts the formal roles of rule-enforcer, cafeteria supervisor. He also has created for himself an emergent role as a strong, not merely a lip-service, disciplinarian. With their accusations about search warrants, the students try unsuccessfully to get him to play the role of "citizen who respects property rights." He plays the role of disputant in response to Mrs. Gowdy's role as mediator.

Joe Horgan plays the roles of rule-breaker and citizen-with-property-rights towards Mr. Dendy. He plays the roles of clique member, rules-breaker, and fellow student towards his friends. He plays the role of disputant toward Mrs. Gowdy.

Ronald King and the other clique members to varying extents play the roles of accomplices as well as those of clique-members towards Joe in his role as rule-breaker. The boys in the bathroom, all of whom are not Joe's fellow clique-members, also play the roles of fellow-students and accomplices towards Joe. They play the role of citizens-upholding-property-rights toward Mr. Dendy.

Nancy Wright does not abet Joe directly and thus she is not strictly speaking his accomplice. She does try to embarrass his enemy, however, and she can be said to play the role of ally toward Joe. Towards Mr. Dendy she plays the roles of rule-follower and student-with-rights-and-needs-to-see-Mrs. Ferguson.

Mrs. Gowdy's formal roles are as assistant to the principal and clerical worker for the school. Here she plays an emergent role as mediator between the disputing teacher and student, Mr. Dendy and Joe.

The pairings of complementary roles look as follows:

1.	Mr. Dendy	Joe Horgan
	cafeteria supervisor	student assigned to study hall
	rule-enforcer	rule-breaker
	disciplinarian	citizen with property rights
2.	Mr. Dendy	Gary Cox and friends
	rule enforcer	citizens upholding property rights
	in loco parentis supervisor of adolescents	

3.	Joe Horgan fellow student clique member rule-breaker	Ronald King and others fellow student clique member accomplice
4.	Joe Horgan clique member fellow student rule-breaker	Nancy Wright fellow student clique member ally
5.	Mrs. Gowdy Mediator	Joe Horgan and Mr. Dendy disputants
6.	Joe Horgan fellow student rule-breaker	the smokers in the bathroom fellow student fellow rule-breakers and potential accomplices
6.	Joe Horgan (when he goes back to his assigned study hall) rule-follower	Mr. Dendy rule-enforcer

Analysis of Individual Strategy

Since we have defined individual strategies as the unique reactions of real people to unique situations, obviously each actor in this incident can be said to have a strategy. Here we will trace the strategy of Joe Horgan to see how he manipulates and reacts to the various social facts we have extracted in the first two steps. Some of his actions are pre-planned. Others are improvised reactions to the contingencies of the immediate situation.

Strategies can only be described with respect to the goals that the individual actor is trying to accomplish. In this case, Joe's overt goals are easy to name. They are, at first, to get Ring Dings out of the cafeteria, and, next, to escape being punished for breaking rules.

1. Joe tries to get his friend Bob Winston to sneak the Ring Dings out of the cafeteria. He is trying to manipulate (a) the unstructured time rule giving his friend special privileges and (b) his relationship with his friend. Notice that the social fact of his relationship with his friend can be described at either the structural or the role level of analysis. At the structural level, we might say that the friendship is part of an organic pattern, since they are friends outside of school. We might also note a bureaucratic influence on their relationship since they are both formally classified as student, and this formal classification also throws them together inside the school. The corresponding roles are clique member to clique member, and fellow student to fellow student. We will not spell out the analysis from both levels in the following steps, but it can be done in many of the steps.

2. Failing in his first attempt, due to the vigilance of the rule-enforcer and disciplinarian, Mr. Dendy, Joe next manipulates another set of rules, those allowing students to leave assigned areas with special passes.

3. Upon being chased, Joe next tries to escape to the informal student territory, the bathroom. In the process, he nearly gets a number of fellow students and rule-breakers in trouble.

4. Fleeing the bathroom, Joe's next move is to act like a rule-follower by going back to his assigned place in study hall.

5. Being apprehended anyway by Mr. Dendy, Joe next has the good fortune of having the principal's secretary, Mrs. Gowdy, activate her informal role as mediator.

6. Finally, Joe has attention turned away from him by his ally, Nancy Wright, who engages Mr. Dendy in another quibble about rules, in which quibble she manages to gain the upper hand by demonstrating that she has been following the rules.

Summary: In this incident we see how students cooperate in order to create space for themselves (as in the case of the bathroom) and also in order to expand their control of what they can do in space that is formally controlled by adults (as in Joe's wish to subvert the formal rules by taking food out of the cafeteria). This cooperation in the struggle for space serves to define these students as a group characterized by certain kinds of behavior. Our hypothesis throughout this unit on autonomy is that the rule games played by students and teachers outside the classroom contribute to the formation of patterns of cooperation and conflict which also come into play inside the classroom. The converse is also true, that classroom activities may contribute to the formation of groups which come into play outside the classroom.

Incident #2. Characters: our fieldworker; Audrey Taylor, Margie, Denise, Vicki, Diane C., Shirley Morgan, girl students; Frank, another fieldworker; Mr. Cook, the guidance counselor; Mr. Harting, a teacher. Here our fieldworker tells about the multitude of personal problems that girls tell her about, and she speculates that they do so because they have few adults in the school in whom they can confide. The next few incidents will illustrate some of the other parameters of student-teacher communication in this school.

I came in this morning to talk to Frank about the car (he didn't show), intending to move right on to the elementary school for the records. Within five minutes I was caught in student problems which ended up consuming the rest of my day.

First there was Audrey Taylor, who still hasn't gotten her period and is freaking out. I didn't talk to her right off, but to her boy friend's sister. I had to wait around then for Audrey to have a free period (not the bloody kind) so that we could get together. It's amazing how it's been a week since I heard about the thing and still the kids haven't done anything about it. Their fear or whatever seems to make them crippled.

Margie also mentioned to me that Denise was leaving school tomorrow to get married, as she is pregnant. This was an incredible thing for me to hear. Denise is one of the most intelligent, most interesting girls in the school, and I always had felt--really naively, in retrospect--that she had her head together around whatever she was doing. Seventeen years old, 4 months pregnant, and going to get married! I found her right after she'd gone into Cook's office to tell him she was dropping out, so I felt somewhat defeated. But not half so much as when I finally was able to sit down with her and talk. She and her boyfriend (he comes from a family of 9 and she from one of 8, I think), she says, feel that they've always taken care of other people's kids. Now they want to care for their own. Her boyfriend is a Catholic and has taught her to believe in God. She also says that she used to sleep with different people every weekend, and he's "straightened me out" on that. There was no way to move her into a different direction, although it was plain that the joy about getting married was as thin as an onion peel and underneath it was a lot of confusion and despair. At the end of the talk, as she said she only hoped that people wouldn't talk or think bad about her after she left, we both had tears in our eyes. (One problem is that there's talk that she'd slept with Mr. Williams before he was fired; she says she didn't but worries that people will make it hard for her brother and sisters with this kind of talk.)

While we were talking Mr. Harting came over and tried to convince her at least to ask for tutoring for the rest of the year if she was dropping out. He seemed deeply concerned. He went through this in his own family a couple of years ago, and I liked him more than I ever had as I saw him take a step out of the way to help Denise. He suggested that she talk to his sister-in-law, Martha, but Vicki was clear that this would be a downer. It would: Martha looks practically suicidal as she walks around in her 50's dresses and red lipstick trying to act like what she says she thinks is appropriate to a married woman. She's also been clear to other girls like Margie that she wished she'd never gotten married.

Saw Diane C. in the hall. Her father hasn't spoken to her since he came in to talk to Fred. This made me feel bad. I wonder what went on.

Shirley Morgan came up to me asking what should she do: she'd gone out with this old boyfriend on the weekend, he'd taken her to all kinds of good places, and then when he'd kissed her goodnight she'd felt sick. Should she go out with him again? I told her she should think about what was making her sick about the kiss? Him? The fact that she has another boyfriend? etc.

I spend so much of my time when I'm in the school talking to girls who are in trouble that I could easily be there a whole day every day and never get what in theory is my research done. I hope, suspect, though, that this is all part of it. The fact that the formal mechanisms have nothing for these girls and that they have come out of the walls everywhere to talk to me.

Analysis: Our researcher is creating an emergent role for herself as counselor to these girls. The fact that the school's official guidance counselors cannot perform this function is probably related to the constraints of their other responsibiltiies to the school, the fact that they must enforce rules and cannot be called by their first names, as our researcher can because she is not an employee of the school and is thus not subject to many of the role expectations that other adults in the school are.

Incident #3. Characters: our fieldworker; several students; Mr. O'Hare, a teacher. The background of this incident involves the continuing struggle of the students that year to establish some space of their own. The students' attitudes, however, often fluctuated between militant talk and apathy, as illustrated by the teacher Sean O'Hare's comments.

The senior room opened up again this morning, and third period as I was passing by Rita, Margie, Shirley, Roxanne and Dennis were there. Later Diane D. came in. Rita called me in as I walked by. She was all upset because Tommy Barton had brought food up to the senior room from the cafeteria and had been caught by Mr. Norton on the way as he was going up the stairs. We began to talk about it, the kids being angry at Tom for his stupidity on the first day of having their room open again, and worried that it might be closed down once more.

I suggested that they put a sign on the window saying, "If you have food, we don't want you in here." They thought this was a good idea, but while I was there no one made a move to make such a sign, and by the end of the day no such sign had yet been made. I talked to them about policing themselves, saying that it was important at least to give off the impression to teachers that they could be their own cops--also to separate themselves from those who might want to bring up food. They seemed to see this point, but as I said, no action. Later in the afternoon when I talked to Sean O'Hare [a teacher, ed.] he said in dismay that they couldn't get it together to do anything. He'd apparently given them a sheet on student rights earlier this week and while everyone understood the sheet (or at least said they did) no one seemed interested in acting on them or pushing even the idea of them. He feels that by senior year the students--even these, who are still the most vocal and clearheaded--have been so beaten down that they simply can't do the slightest bit of organizing.

Incident #4. Characters: our fieldworker; several teachers in their lunchroom. Some other teachers complain that students are apathetic about school activities.

Mr. Green also told me that the senior picnic was called off because only 35 kids paid and the goal had to be 50 or 60. This led to a discussion of why kids don't want to be involved in anything run by the school and a general feeling of confusion by the teachers about this. I argued with Lloyd and Green about whether kids should be forced to go to graduation, picnics, etc. Their position was that it was for the parents anyway.

Incident #5. Characters: our fieldworker; several students; Mr. Wyatt, the principal; Sean O'Hare, a teacher. Students complain about Mr. Wyatt, the principal, and about what they consider to be apathetic attitudes of teachers toward students in trouble.

The kids said they feel very harrassed by George Wyatt. They told me that today when they were sitting in the auditorium during the assembly holding hands Wyatt came by and told them to stop holding hands because it bothered him. John apparently spoke back to him saying he didn't give a shit if it bothered him or not. This is an interesting kind of differential allocation of discipline because I know that for example Kathy Post and Bill Dinsmore are constantly holding hands and there are other couples in the school who walk arm and arm or are even sort of kissing in the hallways and yet apparently it irritates Wyatt that Margie and John are together.

I also saw Wyatt during the assembly go up to Mike Morton and stop him from putting his feet up on the chair in front of him. It seems to me at the same time that a number of other kids were sitting in rather similar positions.

Margie and John and I talked about what was going on with Danny and Frank. They said that Frank had actually dropped out of school and wasn't planning on going back either to Green Valley or to anywhere else but that Danny was still trying to get back in. As we were talking about this, they both complained about how no teachers, (with the exception obviously of Sean O'Hare, who I think they know about but were sort of keeping

Incident #5. Characters: our fieldworker; several students; Mr. Wyatt, the principal; Sean O'Hare, a teacher. Students complain about Mr. Wyatt, the principal, and about what they consider to be apathetic attitudes of teachers toward students in trouble.

The kids said they feel very harrassed by George Wyatt. They told me that today when they were sitting in the auditorium during the assembly holding hands Wyatt came by and told them to stop holding hands because it bothered him. John apparently spoke back to him saying he didn't give a shit if it bothered him or not. This is an interesting kind of differential allocation of discipline because I know that for example Kathy Post and Bill Dinsmore are constantly holding hands and there are other couples in the school who walk arm and arm or are even sort of kissing in the hallways and yet apparently it irritates Wyatt that Margie and John are together.

I also saw Wyatt during the assembly go up to Mike Morton and stop him from putting his feet up on the chair in front of him. It seems to me at the same time that a number of other kids were sitting in rather similar positions.

Margie and John and I talked about what was going on with Danny and Frank. They said that Frank had actually dropped out of school and wasn't planning on going back either to Green Valley or to anywhere else but that Danny was still trying to get back in. As we were talking about this, they both complained about how no teachers, (with the exception obviously of Sean O'Hare, who I think they know about but were sort of keeping

Incident #6. Characters: Mr. Kramer, Mr. Lorenti, Mr. Simmons, teachers; boy and girl students in the commons. In this incident, our observer describes another side of the rural school, a small town sort of familiarity that operates in less formal situations.

I've been meaning, on the positive side of things, to talk a little about the friendship-type things that go on between teachers and students. The most prominent example in my mind is what goes on in commons, especially between teachers such as Mr. Kramer and several girls of Mr. Simmons and some girls and I think a boy. Also, Mr. Lorenti has his little group of girls and boys with whom he jokes and banters and whom he sometimes helps with their homework. The commons scene is quite interesting, in a way much more familiar than I ever experienced in high school where I didn't know and didn't talk to any teachers. Here they--the kids--talk to the teachers about their families, their boyfriends or friends (I've never seen boys talk about girlfriends), their trouble with homework, etc. The teachers take on almost what I would call a distant uncle role. While they are still called by their last names, a lot of the in-class formality drops.

Analysis: Here we see that, indeed, Green Valley students and teachers seem less separate when they relate to each other more as "residents of the same local area" and less as "teacher/student."

Incident #7. Characters: our fieldworker; Mr. Wyatt, the principal; Fred, a counselor; Mr. Flannegan, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Olson, Mr. Kunitz, Ken, teachers; several students; Pete, the cafeteria manager. The following incidents all occurred on the day that new smoking prohibitions were issued. The smoking issue was a complicated one that lasted for much of the year of our fieldwork. Here is some of the background. Students had always smoked around the old school which was in the middle of the village, but when the new school opened up, there was no space around it where they could slip out for a smoke, and students began smoking in the bathrooms and other marginal spaces in the school. Complaints began to be heard from custodian and parents of younger students who complained that they couldn't get into the bathrooms. The big stink didn't begin until student representatives appeared before the Board and suggested that formally designated smoking areas be assigned. From that time, the issue escalated and involved the new principal in a test of his ability to control a difficult situation. The principal finally proposed the rules that were actually established to the Board, but no one in the school seemed to know that the principal was responsible for them. Some of the results of the new rules can be seen below.

I got to school before 8 today, having driven up from the city because one of the rap groups was first period. As I walked by the senior home room I heard Flannegan reading the smoking rules which Wyatt had offered the board last week. The kids made comments like, "I'm glad I'm getting out of here," "Couldn't they wait until next yea ?" "Whose ideas are these?"

Flannegan ended by a harangue: "And if you don't like it, don't go to the principal and don't go to the district principal because it was the Board that made them, and your parents elected the Board--I know some of you say yours didn't, but somebody did--so if you don't like them, go straight to the top." (This seemed particularly interesting to me, as I had seen Wyatt offer the proposal to the Board as his, and them complimenting him.)

The rules are to start Monday. I checked the bathrooms several times later in the day, and the girls were sitting on the floor, smoking as usual.

First period I had the rap group with Fred. The girls came in furious. They're in the 11th grade. They wanted to force the teachers to quit. Several said that Mrs. Kramer and Mr. O'Hare said they wouldn't patrol bathrooms. One girl said she was surprised that even Mrs. O'Reilly said she wouldn't go near the bathrooms. The girls were already also trying to plan a resistance celebration for Monday: black clothes, a coffin composed of cigarette boxes, a walkout where everyone came back in smoking. They'd heard that the students had done this at Renwood and had gotten a smoking room in return. Fred tried to tell them that the struggle had been more complicated at Renwood. He also tried to intercept two other points: at what point did they think the administration should stop controlling kids smoking: 6th, 8th, etc., and that what had happened had been their original request for a smoking room backfiring. The girls didn't want to hear any of these points. They were all riled up. I kept quiet, for the first time, as I felt the rules were completely ridiculous, probably impossible to enforce, and anyway I don't think things get better by law and order.

Second period I sat with Lloyd, Green, Olson and later Mr. Kunitz. They were complaining about the rules, although in their sardonic "I don't give a shit either way" manner. They said it was the Board's fault, then blamed Wyatt because he's visible. Green made the point that it was ultimately Wyatt's responsibility in the sense that had it been Cromortie he would have handled the thing in the school and it would never have gotten to the Board. (This seems a very interesting point in terms of authority and responsibility. I've heard several times that Cromortie had control over the Board in one sense, but that in another he let teachers alone in a way that Wyatt doesn't, and in a third he could do whatever he wanted in the school because he kept the details of the school's functioning away from board intervention.)

During lunch today a kid put a fire cracker in the mustard jar--we had hot dogs--exploding it all over the walls and ceiling. Pete, the cafeteria manager, was furious. He said he'd give $20 for information on who did it. According to him, the younger Wilkins boy was the first to tell, but there were 25 or so other kids who came along during the afternoon to report in to Wyatt and Pete. And by late afternoon, no one seemed to have been caught for sure, or at least neither Pete nor Wyatt were telling.

But the incident seemed to me to have been encouraged by the smoking rules and then accelerated as law and order became even more the by-word of the day. Apparently some kids had said that whoever did it had also tried to set one off in the bathroom, but it hadn't worked.

Sixth period I had the other group with Ken [a teacher, ed.], who took a more overt position against the smoking rules. But I thought the whole thing was strained because Lucinda Allen was in the group, and at one point I asked her how she felt about the talk and she said she felt uncomfortable. To which the other girls rapidly assured her that they knew her mother was cool and hadn't voted for the rules. (Which she had: I remember distinctly her complimenting Wyatt for them.)

Ken tried to rationalize further by saying that the Board reflected the community and probably had to put in the rules because that's what the community wanted. (Very interesting, again a removal of responsibility.)

The girls said they'd just have to smoke elsewhere, in places where there already was smoking but where it was more difficult: in the auditorium, the art room (where Mike Morton and Diane Daky were caught recently, according to Danny, who I saw later in the day), or in the shower stalls. They gave each other specific directions about how to be careful in the stalls, even lighting a match, because the stalls echo.

Incident #8. Characters: our fieldworker, several teachers in the teachers' lunchroom. This incident occurred about two weeks after the new smoking rules were instituted, and it shows the ambivalence of the teachers' attitudes towards the new set of disciplinary activities in which they must engage. Notice how pressures from outside the school have entered the school and how they have affected the authority relationships between teachers and students.

Just one incident from today's lunch table. Olson, Tessio, Clugman and I were sitting at the table. Olson said that he'd send La Rue to "potty patrol" to see if he could get a boy, who'd been suspended for 5 days and if he got a fifth he'd be out of the school. Apparently the boy was seen hanging around the bathroom, so it looked like he might be trying to get in. There was joking speculation about whether LaRue would catch him, and then LaRue came in and sat with us. "Did you catch him? Did you catch him?" they asked. LaRue said he hadn't; the boy had passed him saying, "I'm not doing anything wrong." (Everyone says the bathrooms are cleaner these days.) Then Olson said, joking, "Isn't this called entrapment?" And everyone began to joke around about this, embellishing a fantasy, drawn more and more from the Watergate technology. They said they should put in videotapes in the bathroom and then monitor them from a central room. They could even put in the videomachines and not bother to watch them, it would frighten the kids so. Clugman said in two weeks the machines would be broken and stuffed down the toilets, and then we'd have a plumbing problem on our hands. But the videotape fantasy continued:

they could get a zoom lens, right down to the cocks--the fantasy was becoming more and more obscene. What was interesting to me was both the ambivalence which the teachers show toward patroling bathrooms--on the one hand, wanting to catch kids, on the other sensing the ridiculousness of it all.

Incident #9. Characters. Mr. Wyatt, the principal; the rest are teachers. In this incident, we see how pressures move up and down the hierarchy. A teacher in trouble for something students did wants to clamp down even harder on the students' already embattled space.

In the midst of this conversation Olson was called down to Wyatt's office. When he came back he said he was in trouble because he'd left commons dirty after his supervision period. He complained that it was one thing to make kids pick up their own mess, but another to get them to pick up the mess of previous periods. I asked him what he'd said to Wyatt. (Thorton had come in by now, and so was in the discussion of the commons problem, too.) Olson said he'd told Wyatt just this. . . but at that moment the intercom rang for Simmons to go down; he had commons before Olson. I wondered at this kind of "solidarity."

While Simmons was downstairs, Thorton and Olson said that they felt the kids had abused their privilege of commons and that it should be closed down, or at least that they shouldn't be allowed to eat in it all morning. Olson tried to up his justification for this position by saying that they ate crap anyway, and spent their lunch money on this stuff instead of lunch. I said I'd seen him eating doughnuts, apple turnovers and cookies himself. "But I eat the lunch too," he said.

Incidents Inside the Classroom: Green Valley High School

Incident #10. Characters: Mrs. O'Reilly, French teacher; Bill, a student.

5th period--Mrs. O'Reilly's class. Bill, the boy who'd spent time in southern France for 8 weeks, was there. He talked the entire period in French. Mrs. O'Reilly was the only one who asked any questions. Afterwards when I said to Mrs. O'Reilly that I was very impressed with his French after only 8 weeks, she said that he'd made a lot of grammatical errors.

Analysis: We have pointed out in previous units that conflicting scales of merit can exist in an organization. Usually, a teacher's disciplinary authority in the classroom is justified by his/her educational expertise. Here a student speaks in French for an entire period, something that the teacher never does. It is probable that Mrs. O'Reilly offers no praise for Bill's accomplishment and only criticism because he is threatening her own expertise directly, and, thus, indirectly, he is also threatening her authority.

Incident #11. Characters: Mrs. O'Reilly, French teacher; the rest are students.

O'Reilly's senior French. Class started with a quiz--the French words that they'd gone over yesterday. I was writing this down and when I looked up everyone had spread out over the room, so as not to cheat, I presume. After a few minutes they exchanged papers. Of the kids whose scores I could discover, Sally got 95, Jeannie 98, Kathy and Marty 100.

Mrs. O'Reilly then returned the letters that the kids had written (assumedly not to be sent) and said that Rene's and Andre's were the most interesting. She told them to correct their mistakes for tomorrow. Noticing grades around me: Kathy - A, Sally - B, Jim - A. I read Sally's but Kathy told me I couldn't read hers, since her writing in French was like Dick & Jane. I noticed that Kathy's was one of the shortest, if not the shortest. She said she only wrote what she could do without mistakes. Sally, in contrast, tried stuff and got red marks all over her paper.

Analysis: Recent pedagogical literature on the teaching of writing is full of admonitions against simply handing back papers with grammatical mistakes marked in red. In the face of such practices, however, some students, like Kathy in this example, learn how to play the game effectively. In this case, the rule which influences her strategy is: Nothing ventured, nothing lost. Mrs. O'Reilly's practices can be understood in a wider context than that simply of ignorance of, or disagreement with, the pedagogical literature. The next incident is included to suggest some of the social constraints behind this kind of grading practice.

Incident #12. Characters: our observer and the principal, Mr. Wyatt. The principal, who is new to the school, is thinking out loud to the observer.

We talked about his feeling that you can't innovate in the school because the teachers are overworked. He said he needs another guidance counselor, a full-time psychologist, another office secretary, an assistant principal ("a $12,000/year guy to deal with kids, because I should really be spending my time working with teachers"), three or four more teachers and about 10 teachers' aides. He said that the teachers now are so overworked that they can't be expected to innovate. They spend their free periods grading exams "or just relaxing with a cigarette as I am now, and they should be able to do it too." Then at night they spend several hours grading papers, and they don't have the time to grade them as they should be graded. He told of his own experience of feeling guilty because he never put the energy into grading that he felt he should.

Incident #13. Characters: Margie, a student, who narrates two stories. Our interest is primarily in the second story in which the characters are Mr. Tucker, an art teacher, and an unnamed boy student.

Margie told me that the other day when the xerox machine was broken, Mr. Harting had come into class and released the kids to study hall saying, "The xerox machine is broken, I don't have anything for you to do." She was clearly contemptuous at his reliance on the xerox machine. In fact she brought it up in conjunction with a whole point about teachers being rigid, uncreative, etc. She said that the best example was Mr. Tucker, the art teacher, who always insisted that his students do the projects *his* way. She said that one boy had done a delicate line drawing of trees and Mr. Tucker had insisted that he do a color wash over it or else get a zero. She'd also once had to fire her clay pot on a day when she was feeling shaky and told him she was afraid she would break the pot if she tried to fire it.

Analysis: The two incidents in Mrs. O'Reilly's class and this incident all deal with similar situations in which students' original work must be fit into molds of acceptability as defined by the teacher. The intrinsic worth of the students' work in each of these cases is not recognized by the teachers unless they conform to rigidly pre-defined standards. The whole conception of teaching at work here seems to be one in which knowledge is seen as something to be passed on from teacher to student rather than as something which teachers and students cooperate in pursuit of. This conception puts a premium on standards and on form, but it penalizes originality and adventurousness. Looking at this conception of teaching from an organizational point of view, we can see that it fits very well with the authority structure of the organization. As we mentioned before, if the teacher is assumed to be an "authority" in educational matters, he is thereby legitimated as an "authority" in organizational matters.

Incident #14. Characters: a group of actors from NYC. An auditorium full of students. A workshop composed of a few students and one of the actors.

Second period. An assembly with a production of "A Servant of Two Masters" by the Juilliard Players of Lincoln Center. The kids seemed into it, laughing at some quasi-dirty insinuations and when the clown put his hand down a girl's front. At the beginning of the assembly, I saw Wyatt grab a boy and throw him out of the auditorium, telling him to go straight to the office. It wasn't clear what the kid had done.

Third period I went to one of the workshops that the actors were providing to 100 or so selected students. The workshop I went to was disappointing, and, from what I heard, not that unique. The usual lecture style, though with all the actor's animation. Still he was forced to yell at them, "are you listening?" "don't you have any opinion?" "Say something, say yes." The kids sat still, like they do in class, not giving any indication of whether they were there mentally or not.

Analysis: The fact of having a professional actor step into a Green Valley teacher's role for a day sheds some interesting light both on the teacher's role in this school and on students' roles in the classroom. We have already hypothesized that venturesomeness on the part of students is not rewarded in this system. The concomitant behavior, as we see in this incident is student passivity. The actor, however, is not as accustomed to this behavior as are the day-to-day members of the system, and he tries in vain to change the behavior merely by asking for a change. He doesn't realize that is bucking a whole set of traditional rules of behavior.

Incident #15. Characters: Mr. Burton, the chairman of the English department whose entrenched position and informal authority were described in Units I and II. Students in his public speaking class.

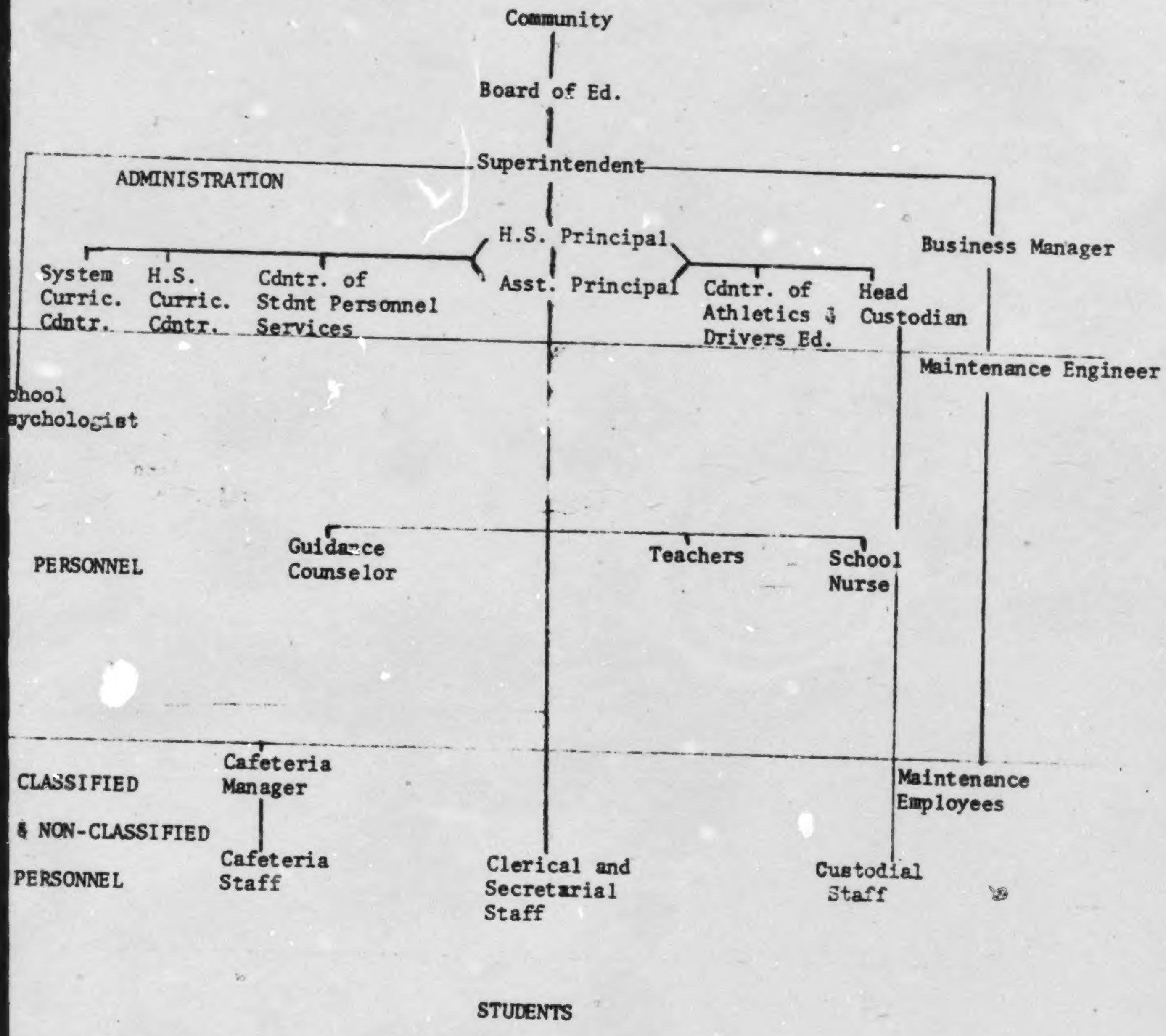
7th period--Burton's public speaking class.

The students had given their poetry reading last night with apparently 35 or so in the audience. Now Mr. Burton passed out sheets with everyone's names on them and told them they had to rate everyone 1-5, using each number twice and therefore covering each of the 10 kids in the class. He said this would provide one of the grades for the term. Several kids objected: how can we rate ourselves? How can you give anyone a 1? Irv said, "Virgil wasn't in class so he gets 1." Jeannie said it wasn't right to grade people like this since "everyone in this class worked very hard, and just because it didn't all come out all right..." Burton: "How would you like to rate everyone 1-30 and the one on the bottom gets killed? That's how they did it in the army." The kids were outraged at this. Valerie: "They don't do that now?" Burton: "There isn't any real war now...They probably do. It's a good way to keep everyone working." The kids eventually finished their ratings and turned them in, Irv being the last one. As Susan turned hers in she said, "I changed someone from a 1 to a 3 to a 5 to a 1."

Analysis: The students outraged reaction to Mr. Burton's suggestion that they grade themselves can be related to the kind of out-of-class behavior that we saw in Incident #1, the Ring Ding Caper. In that incident we saw students engaged in close cooperation and employing efficient grapevine communications networks in order to foil teachers acting in disciplinary capacity. Mr. Burton's grading exercise directly threatens this behavior pattern by requiring students to abandon cooperation with each other and engage in valuing (and, necessarily, devaluing) each other's performance. The exercise, of course, is but a momentary turning of the tables which someone in Mr. Burton's position can easily get away with without really threatening the established order.

Formal Organization Chart

Sheffield High School


Community
Board of Ed.
Superintendent
ADMINISTRATION
H.S. Principal
Asst. Principal
System Curric. Cdntr.
H.S. Curric. Cdntr.
Cdntr. of Stdnt Personnel Services
Cdntr. of Athletics & Drivers Ed.
Head Custodian
Business Manager
Maintenance Engineer
chool
sychologist
PERSONNEL
Guidance Counselor
Teachers
School Nurse
CLASSIFIED
& NON-CLASSIFIED
PERSONNEL
Cafeteria Manager
Cafeteria Staff
Clerical and Secretarial Staff
Custodial Staff
Maintenance Employees
STUDENTS

Incidents Outside the Classroom: Sheffield High School

Sheffield High School seems to be characterized by somewhat less separation of teachers and students than we see in the other two schools, as well as characterized by less conflict in general. In contrast to the other two schools, a vast majority of Sheffield students expect and are expected to enter college upon the completion of high school. This fact suggests a greater uniformity of goals among the different elements of the school population than can be found in the urban or rural school. This uniformity of goals can be traced to the greater degree of uniformity of the community population and the spatial contingUity of the school and the community. Merely from the standpoint of transportation convenience, the school and its community in Sheffield are much less separated than in the other two cases.

In spite of Sheffield's relative affluence and lack of some of the problems which beset Sheridan and Green Valley, we still find divergence of adolescent and adult behavior norms. In addition, Sheridan's relative freedom to experiment with new trends in education produces new problems, especially at the hierarchical interface between teachers and administrators, as we shall see in the first few incidents.

Incident #16. Characters: our fieldworker; teachers in the teachers' lounge; (in absentia) Dr. Gebhardt, the principal. Sheffield's principal, like those of Sheridan and Green Valley, was in his first years in the school during the period of fieldwork. The Sheffield principal tried to institute policies growing out of some recent educational and organizational trends, specifically the practice of formulating behavioral objectives and the instructional techniques and classroom organization referred to as "individualized instruction." Although the Sheffield principal's style of policy implementation differed greatly from that of the Sheridan principal, there were some striking similarities in the reactions of the respective sets of teachers.

I arrived at the school at approximately 8:30 A.M. and went to the teachers' lounge. When I arrived a number of teachers were seated at the table talking. Thatcher James asked the other teachers at the table, "Do I have to make up instructional objectives for my courses?" Warren Carse said that he thought that it's a waste of time. He added, "It's a waste of my time." He insisted that behavioral objectives will go out of style just like everything else. A female teacher seated at the table said, "It's a waste of my time, too. It's a waste of my time, too. It's ridiculous." Warren then told Thatcher that he doesn't have to make up behavioral objectives. The other teachers agreed with this. Warren said that if he were paid to do it that he would do it but otherwise he won't. The female teacher told Thatcher that, "If I can do it, you can do it." She added, "It's a real pain in the neck."

Incident #17. Characters: our fieldworker; Mr. Carse, a teacher; Mr. Carse's student teacher.

At this point, the student health teacher arrived and made a joke about the fact that Mr. Carse was not yet in his classroom in advance. She thought he would be. He said that there was no use to be in the classroom in advance of the time because there was nothing he could do and that this is not like elementary school where students would throw things away and you would have to be there just to look after the kids. I understand that the student teacher had been advised by her teacher, her university or college teacher, to go around and look at other classes than her own.

Then Mr. Carse switched to talking about discipline. He became more and more excited. He said that discipline was the core of education and how one can not teach anything if one is not holding the class in hand. "Our educators are people with Ed.D's and like that but what can you know about education from books? They never talk about discipline. The word doesn't even appear. These are the people who have taught a year and found they couldn't handle students and they come and tell us how to go about teaching." Carse also criticized strongly the administration of the school for pushing individualized instruction. "The students go right through it. They don't want to be left loose. Now things like independent studies, it's always, well not always but sometimes, a pretext for goofing off, for doing nothing. The administration doesn't know what it is doing."

Analysis: In this incident, a teacher voices a very explicit statement of his feeling that he should have functional autonomy in his classroom in the direction of administrators in general and the new principal of his school in particular. Keep in mind his criticisms of individualized instruction. We shall see the student viewpoint later.

Incident #18. Characters: our fieldworker; Dr. Gebhardt, the principal; John Forsythe, an English teacher who will become Curriculum Coordinator later in the year; all the teachers in the Social Studies Department; Professor Whitman, a consultant from Teacher's College.

This is a meeting of the Social Studies department called by the principal, Dr. Gebhardt. The occasion of the meeting is a visit to Sheffield by Prof. Whitman of Teacher's College. He has come in as an outside consultant to advise the department on ways to revitalize their program. Also present at the meeting is Mr. Forsythe of the English department who has already participated in curriculum innovations in the school and who was officially named curriculum coordinator at the end of this school year. Mrs. Blumner teaches in both the Social Studies and the English departments. The background of this meeting has a lot to do with the comparative situations in the Sheffield English and Social Studies departments. The English department introduced an entirely new curriculum at the beginning of this year. Some of the background of those innovations is recounted at this meeting. Meanwhile, the Social Studies program has resisted innovations, and their course offerings and staff have dwindled. In the principal's opinion, the Social Studies situation is partly attributable to the lack of communication and organization among the individual teachers. This meeting with an outside consultant (provided by our project, incidentally) is addressed to the problem of bringing the department toward some start at collective renovation. Note that the principal displays two attitudes toward curriculum innovation during the course of the meeting. First, he indicates that he considers such innovation desirable. Second, he considers that such innovation must grow out of the initiative of the teachers, working at least partly collectively. After reading the incident, state for yourself your inferences about the attitudes and the strategies of the teachers.

A few minutes later, the following teachers arrived: Joe Rossi, John Forsythe, Mr. Phillips,Mrs. Blumner, and Francis Duncan. Everybody sat at the white table in Dr. Gebhardt's office. I sat back on a chair. Professor Whitman remained very reserved and very proper all through the meeting, sitting straight in his chair, while Dr. Gebhardt was relaxed square in his chair.

Gebhardt started by introducing Prof. Whitman with lavish praise and saying that it was time for change in the social studies program because the board was convinced that change was necessary and the board was even considering an added position. He also explained that he and Prof. Whitman had been talking together for more than two hours and that he had taken Prof. Whitman all over the building. Then Prof. Whitman started talking in a rather defensive style saying well, of course, I don't really know what you're doing, but this is what my experience has been. He said "Yes, I have been trained to get to know how your department is running," and that it was interesting to him because of his interest in how a school creates change in itself. He said "This is an ideal situation, since now you have the opportunity to make changes. My experience may be a fuse for you in terms of ideas. You have a good staff, it is just a question of releasing energy. The ways I have seen change take place are: 1) through purely administrative means by allowing faculty and students to have more time for exchanges. For example, it is possible to cut History II from four required marking periods to three and save one marking period." At this point, Miss Duncan cut in rather abruptly in her usual manner and said "How does that save time?" Prof. Whitman said, "It saves time, it allows for more teaching time beyond the basics." Miss Duncan came back with her question and explained the present system. Whitman backed down and said, "Well, maybe it's not for you." Dr. Gebhardt came to the rescue restating Prof. Whitman's position in a more practical way. He implied mostly that the point was that it should be possible to teach the basics of history in less weeks or marking periods than it takes at present so that, in the released marking period, the teacher could teach something that he liked rather than purely what is required. As far as I could see the point was that this could save the teacher time in terms of giving him less to teach, but it allowed the teacher to teach other things beyond the absolutely necessary. Duncan and Phillips did not seem to get this point. Mr. Phillips said, "We have been talking about this for 7 or 8 years, but because we have such a small staff and already so many electives, it makes it very difficult to plan on such a thing." Miss Duncan came in and made comments about the number of preparations she would have. Prof. Whitman made just a short comment saying, "You have many ideas, but you appear to have been trapped by too little funds and too little space. The secret is working together. This is the way to succeed." Duncan said, "Lack of funds and space, yes, not lack of interest on the part of the students. We have always [and she was talking about the social studies faculty, I think] been at the bottom of the heap. We never get what we ask. Who has ever heard of a history class with five students, but that happens very often in science." She commented that that was probably because of the scientific orientation of the community. She said that she thought that it was more important for them that their kids take calculus and nucleonics rather than social studies. Mr. Forsythe, who had remained silent until now, rather quietly but strongly said, "We have the same problem in English, but we started working. It took us a year of meetings several times every week, but now some teachers are teaching 14 courses. It's more work, but it's also more interesting. We didn't have approval when we started, but I believe that this administration will approve anything that is well laid out." The point here was that the reorganization of the English department had been a long range project which the English teachers started and continued, even though they weren't absolutely sure of the eventual approval of the board since their new program would cost more money and would demand one more position. The story he told was that when at the end of the year they went to the board with that full program, the board sent it back to them saying well, cut half, cut your expenses by half and we'll approve it. They cut it by 25% and the board finally did accept it on that basis.

Miss Duncan and Mr. Rossi protested that they had been doing similar things. They said that they had planned new programs several times in the past, but that it had never worked. Dr. Gebhardt said, "Well, things have changed. Anyhow this program will never work if it is imposed by the administration. It must be created by the teachers." He got Mrs. Blumner to make a comment that yes, indeed, she couldn't really complain in English because she felt that she was doing what she wanted. Dr. Gebhardt also explained that the board had become convinced that the social studies program needed improvement. In the past few months, several people in the program had complained that it was not up to par and had complained to parts of the high school curriculum committee. He said that the fact that the board was new and that at least the majority of the board members were new, would probably militate in favor of innovation in that area, but he was not very specific about who the people that had complained were and what weight their advice had been given. Miss Duncan did ask a question about that and he kind of evaded it.

Joe Rossi came back saying, "If they give us the money and the staff, we can move right away." This drew approving nods from Miss Duncan. Prof. Whitman made a few comments in favor of imagination and innovation. Then Mr. Phillips went into a long explanation about teacher-student ratios and said that the new programming worked in English because of the better ratio. Dr. Gebhardt jumped into the fight and there was a long debate about ratios with particularly Mr. Forsythe and Mrs. Blumner fighting back and saying that there are different sorts of responsibility which made up for the slightly better ratios. Mr. Phillips came back at one point saying, "I don't want to make this English vs. History, but..."

At the end of that dispute Joe Rossi said, "So, what have we accomplished?" in a kind of rhetorical way which implied that this was another useless meeting. Dr. Gebhardt came back saying, "The board will not do anything unless it feels it is pushed by the teachers in this area. It will not just give money to unspecified programs. If you do come up with a well-organized program, they will most probably give you something. Mr. Forsythe said, "Again, look at what we did in English. It did work there. Why don't you just sit down and work for a new program." None of the social studies teachers seemed particularly enthusiastic and they simply quieted down since the talk had been going for close to two hours and Prof. Whitman was allowed to comment at some length in favor of teacher participation but in vague general terms.

Incident #19. Characters: our fieldworker; a student, David Sterns. The following is a portion of an interview with a senior boy, David Sterns. His story is interesting because he describes his gradual enculturation into the school. For purposes of comparison with the other schools, note David's experience of being socially accepted by his peers in the organization (other students) on the basis of improved academic performance.

H. Ok, remind me of your name.

D: David Sterns.

H: Ok, fine. What I want to do is just tell me what's happening with your life in school.

D: My life in school?

H: Yeah.

D: How about my life like beginning like three years ago, because if I do that, like that's when I first came to this place and like I can just go through it like year by year and I could give a really good description, too.

H: Ok, that would be great.

D: Oh, ok. Let's see. All right. I came here from a private school three years ago. I came here pretty disillusioned with this place. I thought it was going to be a lot better than a private school. In some aspects it is, but in some aspects, this school is really backwards. So

I came up here and I was really messed up three years ago. I didn't know what was really coming off. I was in the high school thing. I had done the whole high school thing. I got into high school really well at first. Real rah, rah. Went to the pep rallies, did the whole routine. Then I was really socially conscious, you know, about the flag. I was sort of like a teenie bopper, to put it in the vernacular. So in about November of 1970 me and about three chicks wrote a newspaper article. This is really liberal, you know. This is called the sophomore free press. By a bunch of sophomores who were doing a thing that was really completely outrageous. We cut down the flag. We cut down some of the things that the seniors did that year. We sort of cut down the school in a way, the people in it. Mind you, I was a sophomore and you know how sophomores are. They don't know what the hell is coming off. They don't know what's shit to put it mildly. So this was really cool, you know. We were doing a great thing. Actually the repercussions were pretty bad because this was my first year at Sheffield. This is a very cliquey high school. Word gets around quite fast around a small town and a small school. So this was very bad and I had a bad image for about a year. Also, I was sort of a very passive individual. The kids could just sort of call me names and I'd just say well, big shit, you know. And that happened for a long time until about this year. But anyway...Ok. So after it wore off, about June of 1971, my junior year, I started to get my head together and my marks started to go up. This is when kids started to take notice of me. When marks go up, kids psychologically say, hey, this kid is smart. If he's smart, then he must be a good guy. This is really screwed up. That's the way high school kids think. So like last year I got interested in a whole mess of things. My marks went up. I was just generally doing a good job. I am not a very sociable type of person. Like I don't go out to parties too much. I didn't for the past two years. But this year, I just really started to get into it. So like my junior year was just getting used to the place after kids started to accept me. The thing is in high school, your junior year is a big year, when the colleges look at you. So you have to pull really good marks. I would just study on the average for about three hours a day, about four hours on Sunday, which is pretty phenomenal for a high school kid because usually high school kids spend about an hour and then close up the book. I don't mean anything conceited, but I was really busting my rear end. It paid off. I got straight A's. So hopefully I can go to a good college.

Analysis: David's account of the respect accorded students with good academic performance by other students in Sheffield suggests that feelings of autonomy among Sheffield students may be less pronounced than in the other two schools, since Sheffield students and teachers share at least some of the same standards of merit.

Incident #20. Characters: Mrs. Goldstein, the school nurse; several girl students. Despite the high value that many Sheffield students place on academic performance, many students are not satisfied with the space officially allocated them in the school. In this incident, our observer penetrates the student-held territory common to all three schools, the student bathroom. In the bathroom, she hears of another territory within the school that can be appropriated for student purposes, the office of the obliging school nurse, Mrs. Goldstein.

Back to the girls' bathroom. I went to the girls' bathroom on the first floor and I stood around waiting for Mrs. Goldstein. The girls in the bathroom told me that Mrs. Goldstein tells the girls that they can come to sit in her office to talk if they want to. All the girls in the bathroom thought that this offer was hysterical because the reason they were in the bathroom was because they wanted to smoke and also because they wanted to get away from adults. The girls told me that supposedly, Mrs. Goldstein comes in once every period to kick the girls out. She doesn't report or suspend anyone. She tells them not to smoke for their own health.because it's not good for them. Betty Jane and some other girls said that Mrs. Goldstein said that if Mr. Chevalier made her report kids, that she would not come into the girls' bathroom. All the girls in the bathroom seemed to think that Mrs. Goldstein was an OK person. The girls then told me that they now go to the nurse's office during the second and third period to talk because Mrs. Goldstein kicks them out. The girls then said that Mrs. Goldstein is OK because she tries to help keep the girls out of trouble. The girls said that they don't go to the commons because it's boring and you can't leave the commons whenever you want. They added that you can leave the nurse's office and that Mrs. Goldstein permits them to go out of the nurse's office. They told me that they say in a kidding way to Mrs. Goldstein that they're leaving the nurse's office to have a cigarette and she lets them go out anyway and that they actually do go to the girls' room and have a cigarette in the bathroom.

Incident #21. Characters: our fieldworker; Sheffield students. Here we take another excursion into the student underground of Sheffield. This time our observer talks with students hanging out illicitly in an isolated staircase.

Larry Matts is from the township and says that he prefers parties that take place in the township rather than the Borough, noting that more booze appears at township parties than at Borough parties. Paul Dickens makes a comment that they are always worried about the gym floor at the school. Juliette Ullman remains fairly quiet. I asked these students what do they do and they note that when they go to dances they don't like them because you can't come back in once you leave. You have to take your shoes off and you can't smoke inside. Note that this group is presently illegally placed or rather school rules do not allow them to be sitting on the back staircase on the floor playing cards.

Stacey refers to the fact that George Morgan told the story of how he went to the shore and was at a party where there was a jar full of marijuana and George referred to the fact that he had never seen so much. At this the other kids laugh.

There is a lot of paper strewn around the hall, rather paper from what looks to be pom poms in blue and maroon, the school colors. When I ask what this is from, Stacey tells me that it's from the Eskiettes practice and refers to Eskiettes as girls who didn't make cheerleaders. Juliette refers to the fact that she does not like pep rallies.

Mark and Stacey reveal the fact that for the class gift, they would like to give a pipe to the school with one pound per person, referring to marijuana, and that the last day of school, they could all light up after graduation.

Our discussion is now about In Cold Blood. I note that I have no television at one point in the conversation and I notice that they are surprised. They ask if I have a radio. I tell them my favorite station is NEW. Paul says that at 3 A.M. he's often listening to NEW and his mother tells him to turn it off. Several jokes are made about going to the bathroom in the middle of the night.

At one point, a comment is made about how I should follow Mr. Chevalier around for a day and see kids run. At this point, the group is talking about the need for cigarettes and trying to find a place where they can smoke.

Marty brings up the fact that his parents want him to go to a psychiatrist and Paul says that his parents also wanted him to go to a psychiatrist. Stacey relates a story about how she went to a psychiatrist and brought up the fact that the psychiatrist would let her know that her hour was up. Larry said that in the fifth grade everyone thought that "I was crazy." He spent a lot of time hassling the teachers. Stacey says that the problem with teachers is "give anybody authority and they think they are God." Larry, Paul, and Marty get up to leave and go smoke before the next period and Stacey goes to get her report card since she spends the afternoon working as a dentist's assistant.

The next three incidents are all scenes of teachers talking about students. One of the early general impressions our fieldworkers had of this school, and which has also application to the others, was a feeling of surprise at how much time teachers talking among themselves spent discussing students. We can see in the ways in which they talk about students several categories of teachers' expressions of how they feel themselves to be differentiated from students. These differences that they feel between them and their students include (a) differences in cognitive styles, (b) differences in "culture," and (c) differences resulting primarily from the different statuses and roles assigned them by the organization.

Incident #22. Our fieldworker discusses students' learning styles and problems with two teachers. Characters: Thatcher James, a new teacher telling of his initial experiences encountering students' work capabilities; Dennis Horn, another teacher, talks about students having a "different culture," but his examples seem to refer again to their cognitive styles as well.

Thatcher James and I walked across the hall to the teachers' lounge. We sat down on the couch in the teachers' lounge and began to talk about some of the classes during the day. Thatcher said that something that surprised him was the abundance of talk about "booze" in the study hall and other classes. He said that even freshmen at Sheffield High School talk about booze all the time. He said that this was certainly different than when he was in the ninth grade. He thought that this was not typical for suburbia. He said that in most suburban communities, students, he thinks, talk more about drugs than about booze.

About the Exposition class, he said that he has to give them enough work to fill up the class or else "they'll tear up the place." He said that he learned this fact after about three weeks.

Next we talked about the American Short Stories class. I told him that I had the feeling that one can only give so much think work per period. Everything seemed measured to me, but it seemed that he had measured the amount of work that he did naturally, by feeling the students' ability to work and by understanding the length of their attention span. He said that that was true, that students seem only to be able to take a certain amount of thinking during any period. He said that initially he didn't know this and he tried to do more work per period but that he's learning because he's a new teacher. Now he only gives them so much think work during the class. Thatcher said that it seems that in many of his classes all the trouble makers sit in the far right corner. I said that I thought that was possibly true. He said he didn't know why it was so, but it seemed that trouble maker type students always seem to sit farthest away from where the teacher sits.

Thatcher mentioned that something that interested him from the beginning of the year was the fact that he has to repeat instructions constantly to the students, that they seem unable to understand them the first time he tells them. Dennis Horn, who was sitting on the couch near Thatcher, smiled and agreed with Thatcher. He said that kids seem to have "a different culture." He said that kids seem unable to follow instructions and that he has to repeat them constantly also. He related that when he was a new teacher, he learned this and that it had surprised him also. I asked Dennis what he meant when he said that kids have "a different culture." He said "Kids seem like they're from a different culture because they need things explained to them over and over in detail." I asked him if this still happens in his classes. He said yes, that he still has to explain things more than once. He said sometimes kids ask him to re-explain things because they don't have any intention of doing the assignment, but most times, he said, when it happens, it happens because the kids seem unable to interpret what he's saying. I asked him if he thought it was just a matter of language, difficulty of language. He said no, that they seem not to understand the whole idea of what he's saying.

Incident #23. Characters: our fieldworker; a teacher, John Dodey. Teacher John Dodey gives his own version of the education folk adage that "teachers should not get too close to students; they must keep a certain distance." We heard explicit statements about the proper social distance between teachers and students from teachers in all three schools. Mr. Dodey's comments are all the more interesting because he seems to have a fairly close relationship with many of his students. He also shares our impression that teachers spend a lot of time talking about students, or, in his phrase, "bad-mouthing" them. This situation gives occasion also for reflection on the implications of the relatively small scale of Sheffield, in terms of its effects on interpersonal relationships and with reference to the notion of visibility within the organization.

John Dodey and I then talked about teacher and student relationships. He told me that he had gone into the city to see Peter Fleming play Poncho Gonzolez, and that when some students heard about this, they asked him if he would like to meet them at a Steak and Brew on 59th street after the game. Mr. Dodey said that he declined the offer and explained to me that he thought that it was inappropriate for a teacher to go out to dinner like that with students. He said that he is often asked by students to come out with them but that he has rarely ever consented to join them.

He said that it's very important that the teacher be able to maintain an informal and friendly relationship with students while remaining aloof from them at the same time. He said that friendship with students is different from friendship with other people and that a teacher can't get too involved in the lives of students. Mr. Dodey is, it seems, very friendly with a number of present students and graduates of Sheffield High School. This was obvious at the homecoming football game at which many former students approached Mr. Dodey and talked with him about what they were doing and about what he was doing.

Mr. Dodey and I then talked about other aspects of the teacher-student relationship. Mr. Dodey told me that he had hassled Herve [another field worker, ed.] a little earlier in the day. He noted that Herve had asked to look at some of the student papers and that Mr. Dodey asked him what his rationale was. He said that in the end he showed him the papers, but he feels that the relationship between teacher and student is confidential, especially written material. He said that he doesn't think that the teachers should just show other people what students have done or tell other people what students have confided to them. Mr. Dodey seemed to think that there's something sacred about the teacher-student relationship and that the teacher plays a role similar to that of a doctor of a psychiatrist in that he is expected by his professional code not to reveal confidential information about students.

Next Mr. Dodey and I talked about the teachers eating in the faculty dining room vs. eating in the teachers lounge. Mr. Dodey said that he used to eat in the faculty dining room in the past few years but that this year he doesn't because there don't seem to be many other teachers who have lunch period when he does and he doesn't like to eat alone. He said that he never used to eat in the teachers lounge because he doesn't like smoke and the room is always too smoky. He said now he does eat his lunch in the teachers lounge, but that he sits on a couch away from the table in the middle of the room. He said that many teachers eat lunch and smoke at the table in the teachers lounge and that he can't stand the gossip that goes on at the table. I asked him what the teachers talk about and he said that teachers often bad mouth students and that they rake students over the coals. He said often the students who are picked apart are those that he likes; and, therefore he chooses not to listen to these conversations.

Incident #24. Characters: our fieldworker; teachers in the teachers' lounge; they talk about Mrs. Miller, a teacher, and about students. Here we are at the teachers' lounge scene described by Dodey. Compare our observations to his description. Also note the distinction made in the course of their conversation between students who are "good" academically and those who are "good" people.

I sat down during a conversation about Sarah Miller and the two girls who ran away. The story unfolded from different people at the table. After the story was related, there was a lot of joking about one of the girls, Cynthia, specifically about her height and about the hickeys she very often has on her neck. The conversation was joking and laughing mostly, even when talking how they felt sorry for Mrs. Miller [a teacher who had gotten into personal trouble trying to help one of the girls, ed.]. Then Thatcher James at one point said he felt sorry for the two girls. Connie Lacey disagreed with him and said that she didn't feel sorry for them at all. The teachers then discussed what causes kids to be bad. Mostly, they decided, it's the family's fault that kids turn out that way.

Next Peter Forlini kidded about the fact that Cynthia roamed the hall all the time. He said that if they, meaning the administration, know she does all this roaming, they should put a chain around her and tie her up. Then Larry Newman did some joking about how kids would be better off left to roam in the streets, rather than be in school with crazy teachers. The teachers agreed that kids roam the streets as it is already.

Next the teachers began to talk about the freshman class. Peter Forlini said that it's a bad class. Larry Newman disagreed and said that he thinks that it's a great class. In fact, he said, it's the first class with life and personality to it in a number of years. Peter Forlini softened his position and said that there are a lot of good kids in the class, but that academically they are not too good. The other teachers at the table agreed with this position.

Incident #25. Characters: our fieldworker; a student, Cal Wuensch. This is an interview with student, Cal Wuensch, considered bright by everyone in the school.

C: Well, I think I could talk about the recent liberalization of the school.

R: Ok, go on. You're on.

C: I personally favor this. Actually, I tend to disapprove of the idea for freshmen and possibly for sophomores. More reasons. I might say well, we had to wait three years so let them wait three years, but I really do not think the freshmen, once again I'm generalizing, some of them are definitely able to handle the responsibility but many are not and I think that the class as a whole should remain structured so they may learn responsibility. Well, responsibility I shouldn't say, but I must say that I don't think that many of them are mature enough to handle the added responsibilities of having unstructured study halls, for example, which even two years ago was a privilege limited to seniors and only a limited number of seniors at that, but the trend as a whole I approve of for the upper grades because I think the atmosphere for learning is improved if you're not told for example you must stay in this quiet study hall and you sign out and you sign in and all this. That I don't think is beneficial in most cases. There's something else the student could be doing that could do him more good that he just might enjoy doing more. I think that he should be allowed to do that, within reason of course.

R: Do you think that there are any things that you can get away with in the school that other people can't?

C: I'd have to say definitely yes.

R: Ok, what are they and why?

C: Well, the why I'll go through first. First of all being a senior you know the faculty pretty well and second of all being a highly respected member of the senior class opens a lot more doors to you, or as Mr. Forlini just said speaking about my senior project, he's my senior project advisor, with the reputation I've got myself in this school, I could probably pick up the school and walk away with it and nobody would say anything.

R: He said this to you?

C: Yes, he did.

R: Do you agree?

C: Yes, I think I would. Maybe not literally picking up the school and walking away with it, but I can get away with a lot of things which most people can not. For example, if I have more pressing business than going out to the swamp [Cal is doing his senior project at the swamp, ed.], for example going down to Newark with a truck load of aluminum from our recycling drives, the only times I go down is during the day. I have no qualms about going down to Newark on my way to the swamp with a truck load of aluminum. Or on a nice sunny day for example, sitting out on the steps by the band room, which according to the rules is not allowed, but I feel if you're complying with the intent of the rule, I feel that that's enough for me. It's made my last two years a whole lot more enjoyable in this school. I can do pretty much what I want. So I don't abuse the unwritten privileges that this entails really. Or at least I don't consider it abusing them. Some of the faculty might. But I don't. For example going wherever I want pretty much during my three study halls a day minimum and usually four on three days of the week. Either going to the student activities center and not signing out or not being required really to sign out or sign in wherever I go and once again I say that I think the reason I can continue to do this is because I don't feel I really abuse the privilege. I don't cause any trouble while I'm out. If I did I think teachers would immediately start noticing it and require that I start following the statutes a bit more.

R: Are there any people you do these things with?

C: Usually not. Occasional periods, maybe one period a week, I might go over to the church. Like yesterday I went over with Gordon Solow. He was working on something for a play they were producing over there, which he, as you notice, he's not allowed to do that, but he can get away with it with no problem. I went over there to work on some, to use the paper folding machine, for example, to fold some programs for the program last night.

Analysis: We have posed the question previously as to what kinds of situations result from varying fits between educational expertise and status in the organization. Here we see how a student with unquestioned academic expertise manipulates that reputation in his personal strategy for maximizing his space in the organization. Compare his manipulation with that of the student on "unstructured time" in Green Valley, Incident #1. The first part of Cal's interview also reveals a senior student's opinion of the policies to which we saw teachers reacting in the first Sheffield incidents.

Incidents Inside the Classroom: Sheffield High School

Incident #26. Characters: a student, "J" who is a senior who has been through several individualized classes. Our observer, "P."

J: My meetings with the independent study business...I've had independent chemistry which to me was a disaster which I managed to pull through rather well, but it was pretty bad.

P: Why was it a disaster?

J: Like, I didn't do any work until the last of the marking period, until the last of the year.

P: How come?

J: I just wasn't that interested and I wasn't expected to do anything, so between that I was lazy. That's natural. So I had other stuff I was more interested in and I was fairly busy so chemistry came at the bottom of the list. At the end of the year, I figured look, I've got to finish this up. I don't want to have this drag over into my junior year. I was a sophomore when I took the chemistry. So I really ended up breaking my back doing the work...I really had to pull through. And what did he [the teacher] say. He said now look, if you do I think three chapters gets a B, four chapters per marking period gets an A.

P: What do you think of...

J: And he dropped the last marking period off. Say you had four chapters, you did four chapters in the last marking period, but you didn't finish the course, he'd chop off a grade. So I went down to a C or a B for the last marking period and I got a B for the year, you know, just the very bottom of a B. I don't know. If I had rated myself honestly, I would say I deserve a low C for the whole year's chemistry because the amount I actually absorbed was at a minimum,enough to get through the test. I'd sort of get, you know, get an 85, the minimum passing grade on most of the tests.

P: Why do you think this is? Do you think it's because unless someone makes you work or provides some sort of situation...

J: Incentive for it.

P: Right.

J: Right. If you don't have an incentive, whether it be on your own or whether it be from somebody else; whether the incentive be the enjoyment of it or a figurative kick, you know, trouble. Then you're not going to do anything. That's the way people work.

P: You think most people are like that?

J: Yeah. Most all people are. Like there's some things I don't need to have told for me to do, things I'm just naturally interested in. But that's my own incentive, that's my own reason for doing it. The best teachers I've had have made you work fairly hard and I've grumbled a bit, but the fact that they've involved me in the course or whatever has made me more interested. They started the ball rolling and kept pushing a bit has made me more interested and therefore I've worked harder and gotten more out of it and it's been less of a drag then it would have been if I hadn't had somebody expect a little something.

P: How about the interaction that usually goes on in a regular classroom which doesn't go on in an independent study. Do you have any feelings about that?

J: Well, like, for some things you need that because like English, if you get a class with say...Well, I was in the advanced English classes all the way through and we had the Expo 12A with Mr. Dodey this fall. And like you could not have gotten me to work on the independent study because you needed to have discussions. It was part of the class. It was part of the whole thing. You get ideas from the discussion that you could just either tuck away that were very good or you could use them in a paper and so on. You had to have it. You've got to have some sort of an intelligent exchange with the class. Otherwise kids get awfully lonely. You know, I get lonely with this independent study deal because like you don't...your world is just like in a monkish thing almost. You just do the stuff and you don't see the teacher that much. So one of the worst classes are the ones where you've got to go to the class and you end up sitting on your tail for periods at a time doing precious little and it's like an independent study course with the disadvantage of you've got to go to the class. You can't take off and do something else.

Analysis: In this incident we see a student's reaction to the curriculum innovations we have discussed in terms of their effects on political alignments of Sheffield teachers and administrators. This student seems to have two problems with individualized instruction. One, it eliminated for him the social interaction characteristic of class lessons, and two, it reduced his sense of space in the school since he must still conform to schedules but no longer has the opportunity to cooperate or struggle with others in a determination of what happens in that space. He is entirely on his own.

Incident #27. Characters: Robert Backer, a German teacher. Mr. Backer is perhaps the most outspoken and positive advocate of individualized instruction in the school. It would be a serious misrepresentation of the situation in this school if we presented the views of those students and teachers who have trouble with innovations and did not show the other point of view. As background for the ensuing interview with Mr. Backer, we should describe some of his previous involvement with individualized instruction. He wrote his Master's thesis on the topic of the individualized instruction classroom. He was one of the first and most successful of teachers in Sheffield to implement such curricula in his own classroom. He obtained a grant from the board to develop his curriculum one summer. This kind of initiative is what the principal was trying to urge on the Social Studies department in Incident #18. In addition to his implementation efforts in his own classes, Mr. Backer served as a promoter and public relations man for the new curriculum towards other teachers and the community. We observed him at a PTA meeting charismatically presenting the new programs to Sheffield parents. In the following interview, he is giving our interviewer a sample of that promotion.

B: All right. The thing is you've got to sell it to the kids. You don't walk in like the first day and say, see this stack of learning guides? You've got to do 16 of them or you're not going to get credit for German I. You go in and say I'm going to teach you German. This is the regular German and for about two or three weeks I stand there in front of the class and teach them German and give them homework--just like the old days, right? Then suddenly I noticed like kids wanting to go further ahead. Some kids, they start getting lost. I say I have an idea. I know I'm going to say this. I have an idea. I have these things. They're called packets and why don't you guys who want to work fast, why don't I give you the next packet and you guys that want to go slower why don't I just let you stay back on this one packet and then every time you complete a packet, you can go as fast as you want to go. Oh, yeah. Great idea. They think it's fine. But I say I'm still going to teach you. So every day I make them sit down, except today, and I say now I'm going to teach you something because after all, I'm a public school teacher and I've got to stand there and talk at them or you're not teaching. So I stand there and I talk at them about German and I say now here's the irregular verbs, here's this and here's that. Of course, you know, it's like teaching people the parts of a car. It doesn't mean anything. Then I say ok, I'm finished now. You show me what you can do. Use your guide. Work with your friend, partner, whatever. John, work with me. Work alone. If you do homework, you come up and tell me you've done homework and I'll mark it down. Now, here's what would happen. Some kids spend too much time on German because they shoot up instructional objectives like people shoot heroin. They've just got this thing. They see this unipac. What's good about it is it's got a beginning and an end. It's not a big thick book. They could run through it and get another one. It's a novelty. It's got pictures and everything in it. But then what happens is they start going so fast that they don't do enough work in their other subjects. Eventually it comes back to where it should be. Other kids--fantastic. I don't have to do anything. I don't have to do a damn thing. So they just sit there and they do nothing. They monkey around, shoot a spit ball around or talk to their friends. I say fine, but I'm still going to teach you 15 minutes a day and there's going to be a test on learning guide one two weeks from now. So two weeks come. I say all right. This is the day for the test. How many have finished learning guide one? Maybe three quarters of the class. Oh, you guys didn't finish it. Well, some of them are dumb. Some of them are lazy. Others have been sick. So I said ok, I want you to go out of the room with John. You're not ready for the test. So I give two tests.

Analysis: If Mr. Backer had been J's supervisor in his independent study, J would probably not have had as much trouble and sense of lack of incentive and direction. The lesson to be learned here seems to be that innovation requires a great deal of preparation and public relations. Otherwise, new practices only create confusion and foster new strains among various segments of the population. Thus, the principal's urging the Social Studies teachers (cf. Incident #18) to take innovative responsibility on themselves is probably the result of the principal's realization that unless changes are planned by those who will have to live with them, the changes will never succeed. The trouble is that the principal is still trying to use his authority, albeit indirectly, as an impetus for inducing changes in the practice of resistant teachers.

Incident #28. Characters: Mr. Chevalier, the assistant principal. Dr. Gebhardt. A group of boy students. This scene takes place a few days before Christmas vacation. It is taken from a whole day's observation in which our observer reports almost no formal instruction taking place, but an extraordinary amount of singing and partying during regular class periods.

I see Mr. Chevalier and he says I should go to the boys' room for "one of our traditions." I enter the boys' room and I see ten boys, Frank among them, singing Christmas carols. A copy of these carols can be found on file. They are mimeographed. The boys seem to be just singing as loud as possible. Mr. Chevalier later walks in and they hand him a sheet.

I meet Chevalier again later at the top of the hall talking with the principal outside the library, and I point out a certain typo on the sheet in the Christmas carols. Mr. Chevalier tells me that the whole idea of carolling in the bathroom started spontaneously about five years ago and for the last three to four years, typed sheets have been available.

Analysis: We have noted the simultaneous presence in this school of two seemingly incongruous sets of phenomena. On the one hand, we have noticed students engaging in illicit activities. We have also noticed the way teachers talk about students among themselves. We have hypothesized that both the students' taking of illicit territory and the teachers' gossip may be ways of defining themselves as groups in contradistinction to one another, and that the patterns of autonomy generated in this way may have dysfunctional repercussions in the classroom by hindering the ability of these mutually exclusive groups to cooperate in learning. On the other hand, we have noticed a striking uniformity of attitudes about education among all segments of the school population, certainly in comparison to the other two schools. This incident suggests a reconciliation of this paradox.

Anthropologists have traditionally distinguished between rebellion and revolution as having opposite functional significance. Revolution is activity which challenges and seeks to subvert and destroy the existing form of organization of a society or organization. Rebellion, on the other hand, is seen actually to maintain a system by providing a period of "letting off steam," a momentary relief from the tensions and conflicts that are a part of any system. The different uses of bathrooms as illicit student territory in the three schools serves as an excellent illustration of this conceptual difference. At one level bathrooms serve a similar function in all three schools; that is, they are space that is primarily controlled by students and is practically the only such space in each of the schools. At another level, we see that such use of bathrooms in Sheffield is rather more benignly regarded by adults than in either of the other schools. Singing Christmas carols in the boys' room, which began as a prank a few years ago, has since been institutionalized to such an extent that word sheets for this purpose are now mimeographed with the principal's covert approval.

This situation suggests that perhaps a certain amount of autonomy is both necessary and healthy in an organization and is not necessarily a pathological symptom, even if certain problems of cooperation are generated by the process.

Incident #29. Many teachers have developed some strategy or set of strategies for dealing with these problems of student autonomy, just as students have all sorts of strategies for dealing with the demands placed on them by teachers. Commonly, classroom problems, as viewed by teachers, can be said to fall into two broad categories, apathy or disruptiveness. In the following incident, we see a social studies teacher discussing and applying her strategy for dealing with the "least bright" students. Characters: Miss Duncan, a teacher with long tenure in the school whom we saw earlier in the Social Studies meeting. Students in one of her classes.

Miss Duncan then asked whether they remembered the advertising campaign mentioned in the book, and none of them did. As Mike Horton noticed, it's a very old book, which turned out to be published in 1959 and of course they didn't remember. After a while Miss Duncan tried to get from them an example of modern advertising campaigns which they remembered, which had struck them. Then, as in all other times in the class, most of the students were quite reluctant to answer until one of them, in this case it was Lee Emory, made the movements implying what the heck and sang a jingle from a commercial on TV. Then 2 or 4 students came in and gave some examples of this. Then Horton read for a little while longer. During most of the class Horton read and seemed to be the class leader, from Miss Duncan's point of view, in that period. He read until he came upon a passage in the book where it said that advertisers could deduce what kind of gasoline people use by seeing what kinds of cars they bought. Miss Duncan asked the class whether they thought this was plausible. Nobody answered her on this subject and she, without explaining why or why she was doing it, started asking the class to tell what kind of car they wanted. She asked Lee Emory who was closest to the board to write names and cars. Thus Brenda Fish after a while said what she wanted was a Mustang, Hammer wanted a Gremlin, Hickley wanted an Aston Martin, Barber wanted a Camaro, Brown wanted an Eldorado, Horton wanted a Shelby Cobra, Emory wanted a Mercedes, and Albanese a Corvette. The teacher then asked for colors and then how much the student thought this would cost and then what percentage of their salary they thought they could put into the car. The interest was as low at the end, it appeared to me, as in the beginning. Soon after that question, the bell rang and everybody went out.

After the class I got the names of the students from Miss Duncan and she explained to me that they were the least bright of the students in the school and thus that she had decided that the best way to teach them, that she had two types of classes: classes where she taught them substance and other classes where she made them talk about what they were interested in so that they could be involved and thus happier and get more out of their schooling.

Analysis: We wish to point out two aspects of this situation, both of which we will encounter again in the Sheridan classrooms. First, the strategy of getting students who are hostile to or unsuccessful in school to talk about their personal lives or likes and dislikes seems to be a fairly common practice. It has its limits, however, as we see here and as we will see again in the Sheridan materials. Second, notice the way in which the teacher uses two students, Mike Horton and Lee Emory, to help her in presenting the lesson to the class. These student mediators are performing an essential role in bridging the communication impasse between the teacher and the students.

Incident #30. In this incident we see the presence of another kind of autonomy in the classroom, the autonomy that two groups of students have defined in contradictinction to each other. One student in the incident identifies the groups as "liberal" and "conservative" but these labels correspond closely to the more general student sorting labels of "freak" (the "liberals") and "jock" (the conservatives). Characters: Mr. Taylor, a social studies teacher; students in one of his classes.

Taylor is around 35. He has an M.A. in sociology from a large state university and is presently in the process of working on his dissertation. He has a neatly trimmed beard, wears his hair slightly longer than most teachers in the school and his clothes have a stylish mod cut that make him stand out as he walks the corridor without directly threatening the rather conservative teacher dress code that is considered appropriate in the wealthy white suburb. Taylor is a vocal proponent of the concept of "individualized instruction" by which students are allowed to progress in any subject at their own speed according to their ability. He is one of the favorite teachers of the progressive principal and with his support, Taylor has taken over the chairmanship of the Social Studies program in the school and has transformed the curriculum almost radically in a way that is considered exemplary by many teachers and administrators, not only in the school system, but also in the neighboring school systems which maintain close relationship with Sheffield.

Sociology V is open to anybody in the high school that has completed four years of history and sociology. In practice, of the 29 students all are seniors except for two juniors which are considered exceptionally brilliant by all their teachers and who will indeed graduate at the end of the year. Most of the seniors in the class are also the type of students that have received early acceptance from such universities as Harvard or Princeton on the basis of their total performance in the school. Many of them can be found in the "advanced" classes of departments in the school that have not yet been "individualized" in the proper sense.

The curriculum of Sociology V consists mostly of the review of current sociological problems in the United States with a little consideration given to international problems that interest the U.S. most directly. Many periods are given to reading about the subject, the work asked from the students is mostly reports on specific points some of which are presented and discussed in class. The period I am now going to describe was consecrated to the discussion of one of those reports. The report had to do with the controversy that was agitating a nearby community: a planning board had decided that a low income housing project ought to be built there and groups of residents were up in arms in an attempt to prevent the project from being built.

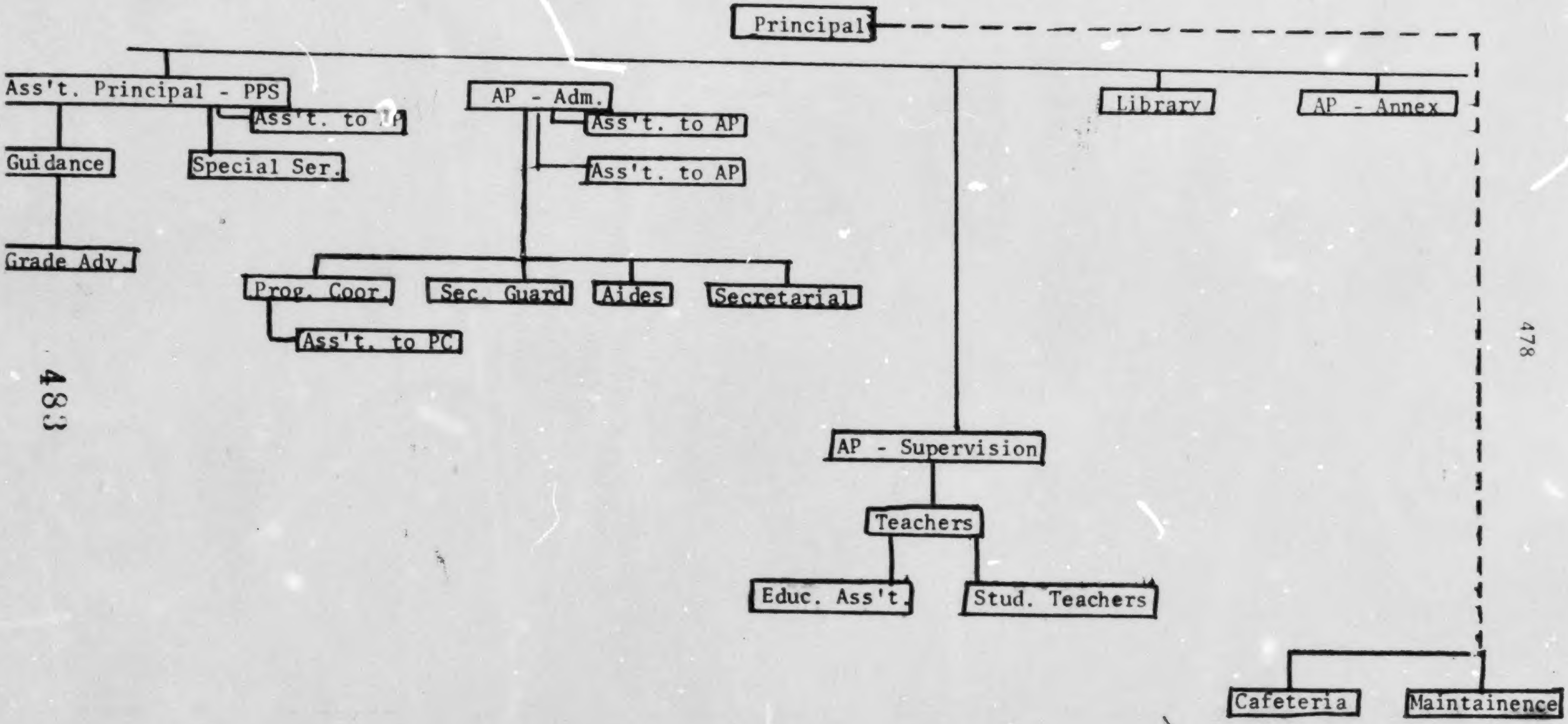
At the beginning of the period, Taylor asked one student to come to the front and lead the discussion while he himself went to the back of the room where he spent the rest of the period observing what was going on and rarely intervening except to remind the leader that he should not monopolize the discussion too much and be certain that all students, even the most shy, could speak at one point. The leader started the discussion with an opening statement using rather strong words against the project and in favor of the right of people to live with people they liked and thus to refuse to admit people in their community whom they wouldn't like. One or two approving voices were heard until a long-haired, rather sloppily dressed student whom I knew had been accepted to Harvard started arguing that the opposition to the project was not a matter of private freedom, but of racism and that it was unconstitutional to prevent anybody from buying or renting property wherever they wanted. The discussion continued in this vain for the 50 minutes, dominated mostly by 5 or 6 students, with 2 or 3 on each side of the controversy. From time to time other students succeeded in placing a word but this was rather rare. The atmosphere was often riotous as several students were talking at the same time and tempers flared several times and nasty comments were sometimes exchanged between 2 individuals. Then the bell rang. The discussion stopped at once. Conversations of the usual type between small groups of individuals began immediately and the students walked out of the room. Taylor thanked the leader of the discussion and then walked out himself.

Later, two further comments were made to me about that class. First 2 students who had remained rather quiet during the period came to me and asked "on what side are you?" They explained to me that all discussions in that class turned out to be basically the same. The class divides itself in two groups, the "liberals" and the "conservatives" and that the students line up themselves in the same way on all issues. Later, Taylor, the teacher, explained to me that he thought it good that students speak up about such problems in order to build up their confidence in themselves and their ability to verbalize their opinions. He said that, however, students were often disturbed by such discussions and that he tried to minimize the negative effect that those discussions had by not discussing the personal aspect of the exchanges afterwards.

Analysis: One of the Sheffield researchers has written a detailed case study of this class in which he speculates about the consequences of this kind of extremely voluntary sorting behavior among students, which is not based on important structural characteristics of the population of the town of Sheffield. Indeed, this kind of sorting behavior seems to be a result of a high degree of ethnic and socio-economic homogeneity of this tightly circumscribed community. Focusing his speculations on the field notes you have just read and relating this incident to the rest of his experiences in the school, our researcher has posited that the very lack of a structural base to these sorting patterns makes the affirmation of unity extremely important and the expression of disunity and dissension extremely threatening to Sheffield students. This is his understanding of Mr. Taylor's statement that the students find the personal aspects of their debates in his class extremely upsetting. Since it is only ideology which holds Sheffield student groups together, ideology assumes a much more important part in their discussions than it might among Green Valley or Sheridan students. Ideological dispute, therefore, cuts to the heart of their social relations.

Formal Organization Chart

Sheridan High School


Principal
Ass't. Principal - PPS
Ass't. to AP
Guidance
Special Ser.
Grade Adv.
AP - Adm.
Ass't. to AP
Ass't. to AP
Prog. Coor.
Ass't. to PC
Sec. Guard
Aides
Secretarial
Library
AP - Annex
AP - Supervision
Teachers
Educ. Ass't.
Stud. Teachers
Cafeteria
Maintainence

Incidents Outside the Classroom: Sheridan High School

The first group of four incidents from Sheridan introduce the school by showing what is is like to come into the school from the outside. The first three describe literal, physical entrances into the school. The fourth is an interview with a girl who tells what it was like to enter Sheridan and find a place in its social structure.

Incident #31. Characters: our fieldworker; Penny Ottman, the school's Program Coordinator; students; teachers; school aides. During one of his first days of fieldwork, our original observer in the school watches the antics around the main doors to the school as students try to enter licitly or con their ways in illicitly. Security aides, an administrator, and a teacher try to control the floor and figure out the students' strategems.

While I was waiting for my fieldwork partner to come, I had quite an education watching the main doors. There are two sets of main doors. There are doors to the outside and then there are steps leading up to another set of doors. There are two security aides stationed at the external main doors. Only one of the external doors is opened for those entering. These are huge metal doors. These men allow people in one at a time, if they're students or if they're teachers. If kids start to give them a hard time, they are the ones that keep them out. If kids aren't supposed to be in, for instance, if their schedules don't begin until the third period, and they try to enter at the beginning of the second, then they are kept out. That type of thing. While I was waiting, not only were there two aides at the front door, but there were off and on, from 3-5 people at the inside door. There was one person sitting at a desk inside the second set of doors and she was in charge of handing out late passes for people who were late but had to get to class.

Several interesting things happened. First of all, while I was there, a girl student came in and just started walking off to the side. She was confronted by a woman who turned out to be Penny Ottman, an administrator, and a man teacher, as to whether or not she was late or whether or not she was supposed to have a pass. I didn't get the gist of the conversation because I was standing about 20 feet away. But what happened was that the girl opened her notebook and took out a slip of paper which got her by. Penny said, "you may go," and then turned around and said, 'That girl now has carte blanche to cut any period of the day because of that slip." Meanwhile several people came in who were asked, "are you late?" and they went and filled out late passes. Others came in and were asked, "are you late?" and kept walking or just said no and turned around and kept walking and they were not pursued in any way.

While I was there also, my back was to the auditorium and a couple of times people asked me, "what's going on in there?" and I didn't know. There were about 5 or 6 people just sitting in the back of the auditorium.

The period changed, from second period to third period. This time a whole new group of kids entered the school. Some kids start at 7:45, other kids start at 9:35. While I was waiting, in came this whole new group of kids. It was at this point that Penny took one of the aides who was standing at the door and started confronting him with the fact that many of the kids coming in could possibly be students who should have been in at 7:45 and were taking advantage of the fact that others were entering at 9:35 to come in and now be marked late. So she was really charging at this one fellow and really telling him, "What are you doing, you have these people. You have these people. These people can get in easily here, quickly here. They might be sneaking in and shouldn't belong in."

Another thing that had happened previously was that one student entered and one of the teachers who was at the second main door, the back up door, charged out and grabbed him and started sort of pushing him at the arms and calling him "Tony, Tony." Tony was the kid's name. I'm not exactly sure what happened but it seemed as if Tony was well known to him and also that Tony should not have been coming in at that time or was late and the teacher was giving him a hard time.

Analysis: In this first incident in Sheridan High School, we see students, teachers, administrators, and school aides all engaged in trying to control the students' access to the school. Since Sheridan students are assigned to three separate, overlapping time schedules, this flurry of confusion over who gets admitted through the main door at what time occurs several times a day, involving all segments of the Sheridan population in the enforcement, subversion, and manipulation of rules designed to allocate territory.

Incident #32. Characters: Carmen Nieves and her friends, Margarita and Maria, all Hispanic girl students; our fieldworker, a white male; Benjamin Christian, a male Hispanic school aide; a white woman secretary. This incident was observed during a day that the fieldworker spent following around a girl student named Carmen Nieves. We will return to Carmen's day later, in subsequent incidents. The relationships of aides like Ben and Manly Christian to the students are complex, as you may partly see in this incident. Many of the aides, like Manly, are Hispanic, many are from the local neighborhood, and most are not that much older than the students. Consequently, the aides formal relationship of policing the students is often balanced by personal relationships on a much more equal basis.

As we walked back into the office, Carmen and Margarita were going to get their books. As we turned to walk back into the office, one of the secretaries came out of the office and came across the hall. Margarita held out her little tin of cookies and asked the secretary if she wanted one. The secretary said, "Oh, just what I don't need." Then the secretary opened up the lid, took a cookie, started eating it, thanked Margarita, and started to walk away. Margarita said, "How's your husband?" The secretary turned around and said, "He's better, thank you." She turned away and walked off through the swinging doors. Then Carmen and Margarita walked through the doors and back into Mark Berlin's office to get their books.

They got their books from the office and came outside and they were standing off to the left side of the lobby, nearest to the dean's office. When they came out with their books, Maria came with them. So there were Carmen, Maria and Margarita. Benjamin Christian, who is Manly Christian's brother [both are security aides], looked across at them, and the three of them were just standing there. He said, "Don't open that door," and then Maria went through the door that goes into the stairwell and then opened one of the main doors that goes out into the lobby and about five or six kids ran through the door into the stairwell and up the stairs. Ben came through the door and called after them and then he came back out into the lobby. He said to Maria, "What did you do that for?" She just shrugged her shoulders. He said, "I told you not to open that door." She just shrugged her shoulders again. Then I looked at Ben and I felt very awkward because I was standing right there and I could have stopped her. Because I used to be a teacher, I felt really awkward. I thought, here's this guy trying to do his job and I'm standing there obviously not helping him at all. I really didn't know what to say to him so when he came over to me, I said, "Do you have to go chase those guys?" He said, "No, I'm just going to forget about it." Maybe I should explain to him why I didn't do anything about that.

Analysis: All of this action occurs while Carmen is actually cutting her officially assigned classes, but none of the adult support staff members ask her for her program card. Their lack of rule enforcement (the secretaries are not officially responsible for student discipline but aides are) on their part is due to their personal relationships with Carmen. Carmen knows them all well because she spends many periods working in the administrative offices on the first floor, where these scenes take place. Maria is not even punished by the aide for abetting other students to enter the building illicitly. Here we see the casual relationships between the aides and the students, which relationships are facilitated by the factor of co-ethnicity.

Incident #33. Characters: Mr. Sontag, the principal; our fieldworker; two black male students; a policeman assigned to the school. In this incident, we introduce Sheridan's principal, Irwin Sontag. Mr. Sontag was a very controversial figure during our fieldwork in the school. This first glimpse of him is rather harsh but not atypical of his behavior in the hallways, where he spends a lot of time. His influence extends over most aspects of the school's activities, but we must caution against trying to attribute everything that happens in the school to his policies, as some of his more ardent opponents are wont to do. His policies are definite, and he invests a great deal of energy in implementing them, but no one person determines the shape of an institution as large and diverse as Sheridan. Mr. Sontag is himself a product of the New York City school system, as are many of the teachers in Sheridan.

In this incident, we see some direct inter-ethnic hostility, a primary source of the extremely developed patterns of ethnic autonomy in Sheridan. Many such confrontations, however, are not as direct, and it must also be pointed out that communication across ethnic boundaries is another regularity of behavior in Sheridan. Note also the effect of scale on this interaction. The student does not even know that he is encountering the principal.

I entered the Annex with the principal at 11:45. We took the elevator to the second floor. As we had entered, the principal commented that he'd like to get his hands on the kid who had just written all over the newly painted exterior.

As we left the elevator, we met two black boys walking along: one, short, walking a few feet in front of the other, a much taller boy. The first boy had already passed when the principal asked the second boy for his pass. He said, "I ain't got no pass!"

P: "Where are you going?"

S: "To my class."

P: "Where's your class?"

S: "312."

P:" "Take that staircase." (Pointing to the staircase on the right where an aide was just coming through the door.)

S: "I'm going that way." (Pointing in the opposite direction.)

P: "You're going that way."

S: "No, I'm not."

P: (Raised voice) "You're going that way because I'm telling you to."

S: "Don't yell at me."

P: (to aide) "I want this boy's name taken for a suspense hearing in my office tomorrow A.M."

S: "I'll give you my name!!" "I'll give you my name!!"

P: (Pointing at him) "Listen..."

S: "Don't point at me. (He slapped away the pointed finger.) "I punch your mother fuckin face in."

P: "Go ahead."

S: (Student placed down his book.) "I'll kick your fuckin face in you fuckin Jewish..."

P: "Get out of this building. And I want Mr. Goldstone to have the suspense hearing in my office tomorrow morning."

S: "I was going out."

The aide moved in and escorted the kid out. At one point during the shouting the smaller boy tried to tell the larger boy it was the principal he was talking to. The bigger boy had yelled, "I don't give a fuck."

We went on our way. I left the principal at 2:03 and retraced my steps. I didn't know how to get out of the building. As I was walking I met the smaller boy and the aide. The smaller boy looked at me suspiciously. I asked the aide how to get out and he started to show me. The smaller boy left.

As I left I asked if anything would happen because of that. He said, "No, the kid will probably just be suspended for a few days."

After I left I saw the taller boy. He was standing talking to some friends sitting on the steps of the school. They were talking about sports like nothing had happened.

I asked the boy if anything would happen. He said he didn't know, they just told him to bring his mother in tomorrow A.M. He said the reason for being on the second floor was that he had thought it was the third originally. I wished him luck and left.

One other thing, as we left the main building through the South exist doors, two aides and the policeman were standing there. The policeman was smoking. The principal stopped, leaned over, put his hand gently on the cop's elbow. The cop responded, "I was just going out." The principal: "Please do. We can't expect them not to do it if we do it." We then left. When we got to the end of the street I turned around. The cop had not yet come out.

Incident #34. Characters: our fieldworker; a girl student, M. The following are excerpts from a lengthy interview conducted with a girl student who transferred to Sheridan from an exclusive private school. Her comparisons between the schools are highly opinionated, but we are presenting them because they describe her gradual enculturation into the school, as Incident #19 did for David Sterns in Sheffield. As in David's case, this girl, Maggie Halpern, seems to have had as much difficulty in being accepted by other students as by the teachers. The task of performing useful analysis on her statements is one of separating her observations from her opinions. This task will be made easier if you focus on identifying the rules, formal and informal, which she had to learn in order to get along in the school. Coming in as she did from another system, she broke a lot of stated and unstated rules. Her descriptions of the reactions of other people to her transgressions are good and can tell us a great deal about this system.

E: You were going to go to Palmer after Webster, this is what? Eighth grade?

M: Eighth grade, yeah. And I got into Palmer and I was going to go there but during the summer my real father died. And it was a very upsetting summer and I went through this whole thing and I wanted very much to go to a school where there were real people. Where it wasn't just . . . I was sick of private schools. I had been in private schools since I was three and it seemed like it was a very unrealistic atmosphere. Even though I had. . . there are lots of benefits in a private school:

more attention, better equipment and everything. I had this whole kind of dream of getting out among real people. So I decided to go to Sheridan and my mother was not all together against it. You'd think she would have been, but she wasn't. I was on full scholarship to Palmer, but I decided to go to Sheridan. Also, one of the things that made it better was getting out of Sheridan at about 12:30 in the morning. Because it's over so quick and then I would go to Juilliard and I would spend like 4 hours at Juilliard, I was in the young people's orchestra there, I played oboe. Still do. But I had a tremendous shock when I go to Sheridan. I walked into the geometry class and one of the things, . . . I got credit for algebra because of the school I had been to. They gave me placement tests and then I remembered the first day in geometry class, I came in and it was Mr. Berringer filling out Delaney cards. I'd never seen a teacher give out things like that. I was really shocked. I was about in tears. The place was so ugly and I mean it was so dirty it looked like, dirt, stacked up in corners and the air was sort of thick and it wasn't moving in the room and there were so many kids. I wanted to get to know everybody's name. I didn't realize at that time that you didn't have a class with the same people all the time. It changes every five minutes who you're in a room with. You never get to stay with anybody long enough to get to know their names but the girl I was sitting next to I started to talk to her because I had no idea. . . and then the teacher sort of expected silence. I had never seen a teacher expect silence before unless he asked and I'd never been in a classroom with so many people having to sit quiet, so long. That was one of the shocks to sit quietly that long. At Webster, maybe the first little bit of the class, he's telling you what you're going to be working on but then you start working and it always seemed that in order to work you're going to be talking to people around you who are working on the same thing. I mean unless you're in the library, where silence was expected, but this was entirely different. He spent the entire period telling us what he expected of us. And in this term, he was talking to us and we weren't allowed to speak back. And I had no idea about that yet, so he said one thing about studying geometry, that it is the study of shapes and lines and what makes them up. And I said, "Euclidian or solid?" And he said, "Don't talk unless you raise your hand." I was very abashed and like everyone looked at me funny and but I took it like a joke, I thought he was making a joke, but I didn't realize he was being really serious. I swear to God I didn't know and I said, (the kids, a lot of kids in that class never forgot me for this) And I said, "Oh come on, what's your name" and he said, "Mr. Berringer." And I said, "Mr. Berringer." and I put up my hand like I was pretending to be a public schoolgirl like I had never seen anything like this before. I don't know if I'm telling the whole thing, but I remember, you know. . . I can't remember what I said but I kept making fun of him. Like all period I kept interrupting him and making fun of him. Whenever I raised my hand I looked around and looked for a response. I'd never seen anything like it. I thought this was a game. I'd never seen him laugh with the class, he was really angry with me. And I got really scared and anyway the whole rest of the term in the math class it was impossible, I mean I thought his proofs were ridiculous, they were based on no fact. He had the gall to come in to tell us. . . well, I had this fight with him about congruency because I've never heard . . . How can you say that two lines are congruent, you first have to assume that the world was flat in order to even believe in Euclidian geometry. Picking on the fine point of congruent instead of equal seemed ridiculous and we got into a long thing because since the whole math doesn't mean anything why do you have to worry about congruent signs, why don't you just use equal.

But he was really angered by me, it seemed like I was a threat the minute I walked into that room. I finally didn't open my mouth, you know, in that class. I shut up by the end of the term. And all the classes were like that. I couldn't even find my room number, so it's like being in an office building. All of a sudden bells ring and you move. I don't know how to explain it, I'd never seen that before. At Webster, you didn't have the whole same system. You come in the morning, let's say 9:00 and if you are doing science, you do science until lunch, you know what I mean? Until maybe 12:30 or 1:00 and if you're really into it, you don't go to lunch. And there were days when I just zipped right through lunch because I was so involved in what I was doing. That afternoon, what are you doing, you're doing English. English had short periods. Everyday you had a library period. Which was just reading. You had to read, you could read anything. I mean, you couldn't read comic books or magazines. You were supposed to read books and so every day for an hour. They wouldn't really let you get out of the library so that would stop your day. And then until three, whatever subject I had next, we usually had two subjects . . . different every day. And then there was this whole after school period which was from 3:00 to five which was when you could pick anything you wanted to do and work there. Science, art, pottery, math, whatever you wanted to do for that two hour period you could do; woodworking, you could change after an hour and a half if you wanted to. You don't have to even stay if you don't. . . you can leave the building. But most kids did because it was a really great time, you could do whatever you wanted. You could read in the library. But just the shock of Sheridan, I mean, I have never been so shocked in my life, the first time he announced a quiz I thought he was joking. I'd never heard of anything like this. It seemed like such a weird thing to ask somebody. He's going to quiz you. I mean I just, you don't think that sounds weird? You go all ready to learn something and somebody's going to quiz you? I mean like that's really ridiculous, I kept thinking okay I'll quiz you back. You know what I mean? I have that whole kind of. . . it was a real fuck-up year for me. You know, I was really upset, what I finally did. . . what got me through the next year's, why I'm graduating now, I began to do well, I agreed. Okay, it's a game, the whole school's a game. So I'll play the game. And I fight when I can. When I can, I get snotty teachers in trouble, you know what I mean? Really, when I can I do, like the whole suit that I told you about, I'd do it.

E: What about your reaction or your relationship to your classmates?

M: Well, they thought I was crazy. They had never seen anyone like me. They thought I was really nuts.

E: What were your perceptions at first of having to survive in the school, like with your peers?

M: I just pretended that they weren't my peers. I got on with my kids at Juilliard. They were the kids at Sheridan. I never had to know anyone personally real well at all at that time. All my friends at Julliard and at Webster. . . I mean all my friends at Webster I've known since I was three are still my friends. I still go out with them. I even, I just like pretended the kids of Sheridan weren't there. I was in a lot of honor classes. These kids were like so oriented to everything, to bells and everything else. I've never seen anyone like that. I couldn't fathom it. Their vocabularies were ridiculous. I mean when I was 13 and I don't mean to sound condescending, but when I was 13, I knew many many more words and I used to open my mouth in English and start talking the way we were expected to talk at Webster. Teachers didn't talk down to us at Webster. They talked on their own level. . . . Economics class was a farce. Just sit there and fool around. You don't learn anything. You learn a couple of key things, sometimes. The trouble is even what they're trying to do, they're half assed at it.

E: Yeah. Why even be in that room?

M: I figured I've got to do this whole system. The final system that I worked out. It took me a while, but the final system at the end of my junior year was don't...What you do is this, you see. You go to school. You look around the classroom and get to know kids. Fuck around as much as you can. Maybe be bright sometimes so you can little impress the teacher. Then never study, never hand in any homework. When the exam comes, study your ass off the night before. Learn all the. . . memorize all the things that he's been wanting you to know for the past six months which you can learn in one night and do them on the test. Get a high enough mark on the test. He loves you. He doesn't want any trouble. Teachers don't want any trouble. They don't want to be bothered. They generally don't. Half the teachers, no, 99% of the teachers at Sheridan don't even like students at all. They're businessmen. If they're business men, they don't want the problems, they want easy problems. If students are considered problems, then they want ones that aren't at all difficult.

E: How's that transmitted to you? What do you think about that? What did they do to give you that feeling?

M: I'll tell you why, because present a problem and they don't like it. They pretend to like it, but they really don't. You know that because if you give them a really good paper, you get it back, which asked really good questions, you get it back with not why don't you go on and do this. Here are some more ideas. Why don't you develop it more. Then obviously asking it to be resubmitted. You get it back with a B+ on the top and on the back--good content, please correct the following footnote errors. In other words, if they took the time to read your questions . . . I've never gotten a paper back with anything on it but what I just said. That's the biggest. I've gotten four papers back. I've only written six. I was just going over these last night and I got four papers back in my high school that had just a mark. Only two of them had writing and that was the most I ever got--please correct the following footnote errors. It was a big thing for her. I mean, she really looked at the footnotes. That's how you know they don't want any trouble. They don't want anything resubmitted. Homework comes back with big red checks on them. They don't want you questioning what they say in class, either. Because if you do question them, they often skim your question and if you tell them you're skimming my question, they think you're rude. That's another way you know. You know that right away. You can tell it in just the amount of time that they put into thought. You can tell it. You can tell the amount of time they put into their classes. They don't prepare those lessons. I'd say the average teacher prepares for about two minutes and if they've been in school long enough, they know all the lessons by heart, they think. They don't prepare enough. They don't know enough. Those few subjects that I really knew enough about from Webster to really know how stupid teachers were. One of them was the Civil War. Because at Webster I had to do a paper on the Civil War. My graduation paper was like 50 something pages. It took me all year to write it. I really worked on it. It was a really top notch paper. It would get an A at Seward in the senior class which is really a good mark. . . .

E: Yeah. What did you see going on in terms of teacher to teacher, how they treated each other?

M: I don't know. It was just some kind of cliquey thing in the history office. I don't know. They were all businessmen and they don't want to admit it.

E: Businessmen pejoratively?

M: Yeah, I guess.

E: You're saying they're just there for the money. Is that it?

M: No, I mean their attitude. They were thinking of education as a business in terms of learning, not in terms of making their own money, but they thought of the classroom more as an office than as a classroom. You know what I mean? That they had a certain job that they had to get over with when they get home instead of really liking kids. So that's how they came across. Continuous insults of students, constant. "Oh, those stupid kids in my fifth period class. Imbeciles of this class. Kids are so dumb they don't read the text book. I'm not going to grade this crap tonight." I think teachers take piles of papers and write pass, pass, pass, fail, pass, fail, fail, and don't read the papers. You know what I mean?

E: I see. So you hear that in the room there, the office where you work?

M: Oh, yeah. On and on and on. . . . What more is there?

E: Well, are you tired yet?

M: Well, a little bit. Want me to start again?

E: Yeah. A lot of things I couldn't fully understand at those curriculum meetings. Like their . . .

M: Yeah. A lot of things are just connotations that . . . Like, for instance, like that whole thing I was talking about before about being in Sontag's office. You couldn't possibly understand everything that goes on around there. There's even more that goes around there because when I was a sophomore and I got to know Mrs. Henderson [a department chairman], we became the best friends. Really, me and Mrs. Henderson were like best . . . She's a really cool lady. But she won't talk to you. She's really . . .

E: Why wouldn't she talk to me?

M: She's just looking out for herself. That's the reason she wouldn't talk. She is the kind of person that loves to criticize things privately in a room behind a door. But when it comes to . . . But the fact is she knows that if she disagreed too much with Mr. Sontag, then she wouldn't have the job. You know what I mean? She thinks a lot of things in the school are wrong, but she's not going to try and change them.

E: Oh, I see. She plays a game, too, to keep her. . .

M: That's right, to keep her position. She's an exciting woman, but she just made the decision sort of that I made. It's all right. This is what I do. You know what I mean?

E: Then she wouldn't want to be taped?

M: No. Well, you can ask. . . She'll be taped, but she won't tell you anything. She'll be taped but she'll tell you exactly what you could get out of a text book. Tape her and you'll see what I mean. Ask her. She'll probably say sure. And she wouldn't be at all mean to you and then you'd ask her questions and she'd answer them, about students or stuff like that, but it would all be exactly what Mr. Sontag would say. That's fine. That's fine. That's what we want to do to your thinking.

Analysis: Maggie explains very well how she learned to formulate strategies for survival in Sheridan. She also has definite feelings about the ways in which other students, teachers, and even Mrs. Henderson, an administrator, play out their strategies for survival.

The next four incidents show students appropriating space for themselves in the school, for the most part illicitly. In the first Sheridan incidents we saw some of the strategems that students use to get inside the school at other than the times specified for their entrance on their program cards. We also saw that even students coming in at the correct time often try to avoid being marked officially present in order to be able to cut classes with impunity (an absence is a less serious infraction than a cut, although the administration does go to elaborate lengths in their bookkeeping to catch this ploy). In these next incidents, we see where students go and what they do when they have managed to get into the school and get out of classes.

Incident #35. Characters: two of our fieldworkers; Lucy Tong, a Chinese girl student; several students in the process of cutting class. In this incident, two of our fieldworkers stand in the middle of the third-floor hallway and simply observe the behavior of people who pass by. During the class period, many students are in the halls who are supposed to be in class. With a little watching, we manage to figure out their tactics for evading security personnel. We also notice that we are always suspected of being security personnel ourselves, simply because we are adults, until we prove otherwise by not apprehending them. Those reactions to us are clearly another effect of scale. Since no one can know everyone in the school, reactions must be formulated on immediately visible characteristics like age and ethnicity, until more information about the person is obtained.

We two fieldworkers stood in the third-floor hallway all during sixth period. A Chinese girl named Lucy Tong stood with us for a while. Lucy has the privilege of standing in the hall unchallenged during this period for two reasons, one formal and one informal. The formal reason is that she is a member of the Student Organization Executive Council which meets during this period. They had only a short meeting today and Lucy is free the rest of the period. The informal reason is that she is one of the brightest students in the school and most respected by the teachers, who are not likely to hassle her. The senior fieldworker, who has been observing in the school for over a year, is showing the new fieldworker the way kids who are cutting get around in the halls. During the break between 5th and 6th periods there is as always a tremendous crush of people in the hallways changing classes. We greet some of them, students and teachers, as they pass by. Some stop to talk with us, and Lucy Tong stays with us for a while. All around us are similar encounters between students and students, teachers and teachers, students and teachers, all grabbing a few words with friends and acquaintances between classes. By the time the bell sounds for the beginning of the next period the traffic has thinned out a great deal, but not altogether. Some students are still talking. Sixth period has now begun and some of the stragglers have to knock on the classroom doors to gain admittance. Most of them are let in without much trouble, but we have heard the principal and some department chairman berate teachers in faculty meetings for letting latecomers in so easily. The period is now about five or ten minutes underway. Some students can still be seen popping in and out of the stairwells, but they are much more furtive about it now. One black boy sticks his head out of the stairwell immediately to our left, sees us, and retreats back into the stair. He looks out again a minute later. The three of us are talking among ourselves, about him although he doesn't know it. He decides to risk it and walks right past us pretending that he doesn't even see us. He walks to the end of the hall and enters another stair. We are speculating meanwhile that he is looking for someone or some group. Apparently he doesn't find anyone because he reemerges a minute later and walks past us again, this time with complete unconcern, and disappears into another stair, ([the hall forms a huge capital E, with stairs at every corner, ed])) Next, two other black boys start coming up the hall from our left. They see us and reverse in their tracks, refusing to walk past us. All this time we have seen heads popping out of stairwells checking out the hall. Lucy is fascinated. She knows the school well and has been a valuable informant for us, but she has never noticed the regularity of some of this clandestine behavior.

Incident #36. Characters: our fieldworker; Mr. Timberlake, a guidance counselor; students, mostly black. This scene takes place in one of the few rooms set aside for students, the Rap Room. When this room is open, several periods a day, students can come and participate in organized rap sessions with the guidance counselor, Mr. Timberlake, or the drug counselor, Mr. King. Mr. Timberlake is white and has teaching and guidance licenses. Mr. King is black and does not have a full guidance license. He is only supposed to provide "drug education." In practice of course, both men do much the same thing, within the rap room that is. During this period, however, not only the fieldworker but also the counselor had difficulty being accepted into the students' conversation. The rap room is supposed to be a place where students and adults can talk to each other outside the pressures of the classroom. On other days, we have seen many such discussions take place, but today there is no organized topic or group, and stratification gradually sets in, cutting students and adults apart. Notice how Mr. Timberlake first denies that he is exercising authority in this setting but eventually is forced to assert authority.

I spent fifth period in the S.P.A.R.K. rap room on the third floor. My period in the rap room was somewhat disconcerting because I was not able to sustain sufficient contact with the students in the room. Most of the students in the room were black boys. There were also a few Spanish boys, and a few black girls. The teacher in the room was David Timberlake who spent about half the period fiddling with his new Sony videotape machine.

As I entered the room, I recognized a student, a black male, Luther, who had been introduced to me the day before outside the rap room. I sat down and talked to Luther and his friends briefly about movies, the new TV show "Shaft" and the movie "Heavy Traffic." I introduced myself to a black girl, Rita who was wearing a long rain coat over her skirt and stockings and had an Afro. I then went over and talked to Dave Timberlake about his videotape machine for a while. There were mainly two groups in the rap room during the period I was there. One was a smaller group consisting of Luther, Rita and two other boys, one of whom was sitting on the sofa wearing blue overalls, tennis shoes, and a fatigue jacket. Next to the sofa was a chair in which sat a boy in red pants, high top basketball shoes, a red suede jacket and a print shirt, and a red suede hat. This boy sat for the most part without saying anything but participating by glances and gestures in the interactions involving Luther, the boy in the overalls, and Rita. Rita was sitting next to me and slightly behind her was another black girl who had her back to this group and did not say anything while I was in the room. Dave Timberlake came and sat on the other side of me, but neither of us was able to enter into the conversation of the students.

Besides this group, there was another larger group which seemed to me to be composed entirely of black boys who were clustered in the other side of the room, near the eastern door of the rap room. These students were first paying attention to a chess or checkers game (I could not tell which), but when the game ended, they stayed, sitting on and around the tables in that part of the room. I could not tell what the larger group was discussing at any given time, but their activity involved a great deal of movement, some scuffling, a lot of hand slapping and laughter. At one point, one of the boys in this group called out to Dave Timberlake who was sitting next to me in the smaller group to point out some paper that another boy had thrown on the floor. Dave Timberlake's reply was "It's your room. If you throw paper on the floor, that's the way it's going to be." Luther dominated the discussion in our group. He was talking rapidly and ceaselessly. His conversation mainly concerned his various exploits in the streets. He told several episodes of confrontations with the police, and at one point he said that the previous week he had been in a rumble with the Jews. Then he said "Do you know what happens when the Jews (presumably referring to Jewish youths of the area) get caught by the police?" When he said this the boy in the overalls sitting on the couch and the girl Linda said almost in unison, "Don't tell my father." They seemed to be somewhat imitating a Jewish intonation when they said this.

Before I had sat down with this group there was another adult in this group, Henry King, the drug counselor. While he was in the room talking to Dave Timberlake, both of whom were wearing S.P.A.R.K. buttons on their lapels, a black boy entered the room. This boy had an extremely disheveled appearance. His shirt tail was hanging out and his Afro was extremely rumpled. I did not see what his first interactions in the room were, but I turned my attention to him when Henry King demanded a program card of him. The boy did not say anything and sat down with some other people in the room. Henry King then made a remark about getting a guard, but the matter was dropped. Henry King left the room and the boy stayed there for the rest of the period.

While I was sitting with Luther and Rita and the two others, sitting next to Dave Timberlake, I was feeling somewhat uncomfortable because I was unable to sustain conversation with the students, and I even got paranoid that they were talking about me because they were at one point whispering to each other. Mr. Timberlake also seemed rather nervous and uncomfortable and that did not help my attitude much.

About three quarters of the way through the period, the group on the other side of the room began throwing marbles at each other. A few marbles landed near the videotape equipment which was set up near the window and Dave Timberlake adopted a more authoritarian attitude. He walked over to that group and told them that he didn't care what they did as long as, "you don't horse around with this stuff," he said, pointing to the videotape equipment.

Towards the end of the period, Dave began to set up the videotape monitor across the room from the larger group and about ten students set up two rows of chairs, as if they were going to watch the videotape on the monitor.

While this was going on, a few more marbles sailed toward the videotape machine and Dave Timberlake became angry. He put the equipment away, the students who were going to view something on the monitor dispersed, and he changed his position once again. He started out by reiterating his previous stand which was "Don't mess with the equipment," but he ended up by saying "Listen, I treat you with respect. That's all I expect from you in return, that you treat me with respect as a human being." Shortly after this, the tone sounded for the end of the period.

Analysis: This incident demonstrates well some of the problems inherent in formalizing emergent roles. Mr. Timberlake's formal role explicitly directs him to establish a relationship with students that is outside the constraints normally placed on student/teacher interactions. At the same time, his role exhibits role strain in that he must also act as an authority figure. He has certain strategies ("it's your room") for dealing with the strain, but they fail in this case.

Notice also that most of the students in the Rap Room are black. The Rap Room is one of the few territories in the school explicitly provided for students, but one ethnic group has informally established its right to this space.

One interesting aspect of their strategies for gaining control of this space concerns the fact that the S.P.A.R.K. program for which this space is set aside is a drug education program. Many of the organized rap sessions that do take place here concern the use of drugs. These students are certainly not the only drug-users in the school, and some of the students present here do not use drugs themselves. By taking part in these drug education activities, however, they have managed to gain a special territory of their own even though licit student territory of this kind is extremely scarce in Sheridan.

Incident #37. Carmen Nieves and her friend Margarita, two Hispanic girl students; other students; teachers; aides; our fieldworker. This is another excerpt from the day of Carmen Nieves, part of which was recounted in Incident #24. Carmen has a very strict father who will not let her socialize at home. When she comes to school, she has the choice of going to classes or socializing around the school. As you will see, she most often chooses the latter option. She has very friendly relations, not only with other students, but with teachers, custodians, and security aides. You will see how she manipulates these friendly relationships in such a way that she is rarely hassled by anyone about cutting classes. We will return to Carmen once more later to see how the school tries to deal with her problems. This incident provides an interesting comparison with Incident #6, in Green Valley. Both incidents seem to suggest that students get along most easily with adults in the school outside of the formal classroom situation.

I arrived at the building at 8:30 this morning to follow Carmen for the day. When I walked in the lobby, Carmen was standing there talking with Margarita and I said good morning. I said I would meet her in a couple of minutes as soon as I put my coat away.

I went to the teachers work room, I hung up my coat, and I walked back out into the main lobby and met Carmen. She said something like, "I was nervous that you might meet me outside." I said, "No, I remembered, so I came right inside."

Then we walked into the dean's office. Nobody was inside the two cubicles inside the dean's office. The one on the left which is used by the dean was closed. The one on the right side which was used by Mark Berlin was open. However, there was nobody in the right side, so Carmen sat down in the outside office and then Margarita came in and she sat down. There were two or three boys who were wandering in and out. One of the boys came in. He was a Spanish boy, tall, very big, had a small Afro. He was wearing an overcoat, and he was carrying a musical instrument. It looked like some kind of horn, a trumpet or something. Carmen and Margarita were talking to him a little bit. He took out a package of gum. He offered a piece to each of them and then he offered me a piece.

Then a woman came in, a short heavy set white woman, I guess around 40-45 years of age. I don't know her name, but she's a member of the language department. She was talking to Carmen and every now and then she would look at me. She was talking about how miserable it was and how she couldn't understand why school was open today. It was such a wretched day. The schools on Staten Island were closed. Then she turned to me and said you know, they never close school until the big wigs get up at 9:00 or something and decide to go outside and then they realize it's very messy out and decide they're going to have trouble getting to work. What they don't know is we've been in school since 6:30, 7:00 or traveling to school since 6:30 or 7:00 and the kids are coming from all over the place. She said those people that work in the central board, they don't care about the kids. They always say they care about the kids, but they don't. I mean, a lot of these kids have to come from Harlem and get here in this weather. Do you think they would have some decency and close the school for the kids? No, they wouldn't. Then she was remarking something about how unfair it was that the schools in Staten Island were closed because of the snow, but Manhattan was open. Then she started joking with Carmen and Margarita in Spanish. I couldn't really understand what she was saying, but it was just complaints about the weather. It seemed like complaints about a lot of things but I couldn't really understand what she said at all. (Our fieldworker has taught in a bilingual school and speaks fluent spanish, ed.) I don't know if she's a native Spanish-speaker or not. I don't think so. She was sort of walking in and out of the office making these comments about the snow and switching from English to Spanish. Then she talked a little bit to me about her friend in Scarsdale who teaches in Scarsdale and lives in Scarsdale. She was saying that this friend of here was always giving her advice on what to do. Then one day she said to her friend well, why don't you come down here and teach here. Her friend said no, I wouldn't want to do that. So she was making sarcastic remarks about this friend of hers and how she was so willing to give advice but she certainly wouldn't want to trade positions with her. So I joked with this woman and said "Why don't you go to Scarsdale?" She said "Oh no, I couldn't stand it up there."

Then a few minutes later, Mark Berlin ((a math teacher)) came in. But just before Mark came in, the boy with the horn left and so did the head of the language department. Just Carmen and Margarita were sitting in the office. They both pulled up their chairs, and sat in little semi-circle around where I was sitting. They started making some small talk.

I had spent Monday with Margarita. She said. "You know, two of my teachers asked where you were on Tuesday. They wanted to know if you were coming back, if you were going to spend more time with me."

After Mark Berlin came into the office, Carmen and Margarita got up and went into his cubicle. Mark handed Carmen a piece of paper and said, "I want you to take this up to the cafeteria." Margarita took it and went over to the elevator. We went upstairs to the fifth floor. We went into the cafeteria. Then Carmen walked into the back part where the dietician's office, I think, is. It's in the kitchen part of the cafeteria. She handed somebody this piece of paper. I couldn't see. She went ahead of me and turned the corner and then came right back. She explained to me that that piece of paper had something to do with some lunch passes that had been lost. Mark Berlin is in charge of issuing the daily lunch ticket books.

Then instead of going down the elevator, we walked down each floor except the second floor. We walked down the fifth and then down the staircase on the far end of the school, all the way away from the cafeteria, down to the fourth, back over to the library, down the stairs, across the third, back to the far end and then skipped the second floor and went back down to the first. As the girls walked by, they looked in a couple of different rooms on each floor, laughed or said something or waved to people. I noticed at least once they would look right in the front door in plain view of the people and the teacher would just sort of look at them and then look back at the class. They weren't challenged at all on this particular day. I asked Carmen how she could get away with just walking through the halls all the time. She said oh, people get to know you and if anybody asks me what I'm doing, I just say I'm taking something to the cafeteria for Mr. Berlin or say I'm taking something from the office. Then I say, "What if somebody asks to see your program card, can you show it to them? What happens if you don't have a study period or something during that period when you're out in the hall." She said, "Oh nothing happens. I never get into any trouble." I said, "Well, what if I asked to see your program card, could you give it to me?" She said, "Sure, I always have it with me." She reached into her pocket and she took out her program card. It was so crumpled up that you couldn't read anything that was on it. You could barely make out her name. You could see that it had Carmen Nieves and on the back it had the remnants of her program. The only floor that Carmen avoids, as she told me, is the second floor, because the black lady there gets after her. She's referring to one of the security guards on the second floor.

On the third floor, the girls stopped like halfway between the third and second floors. They looked out the window and Margarita said, "Oh, there's my husband again." She was talking about the same guy who was out shoveling snow on Monday. She was just joking of couse.

Then we returned to the office. Mark Berlin was there and he had two or three piles of rexograph sheets of math exams that he was stapling together and he was putting square root signs over certain of the numbers. He asked Carmen, "Do you know how to put in square root signs?" She shrugged her shoulders. The he said, "Oh, never mind. I'll do it. Here, you staple these things together." While Carmen was stapling this test together, Mark started talking to me. I forget how the conversation turned, but I said something that started Mark talking about student help. Mark had asked Carmen if she wanted to work from 8:30 to 5. Carmen looked at him like he was crazy. Mark said, "You know Cindy and Jeanie, (two Chinese girls) are going to be working from 8 to 5." I asked him what they were going to be doing. He said they were going to be working in the programming room. Then he started talking about students and he said, "You know, we couldn't get along without students in this school. He said that's something you can put in your report. I don't care what anybody says. We couldn't function without student help, without students doing a lot of the monitoring and helping teachers." He said, "It's slave labor. We couldn't get along without it."

During this time that I was talking to Mark, Carmen was still working. Another woman came into the room and was filling out some form letters. She had two Chinese boys with her. She had given them instructions on how to find out what name was supposed to go in the name slots on the forms. I later found out they were letters to be sent to parents about cutting. Carmen had told me that this woman was the cutting dean. Carmen also told me (this is much later in the day, so it's out of sequence) that she spends some of her time working for the cutting dean filling out letters to parents of children who are cutting. I said, "Oh you do that during your study periods?" She said, "No, sometimes I do that, I just go down there and work sometimes." So although she didn't say it and I should have asked her just to be sure, I'm quite certain that Carmen works for the cutting dean filling out letters to be sent to the parents of students who cut while she herself is cutting class.

Back now to second period. Carmen is still working in the office and while I was talking to Mark, Margarita left and came back a few minutes later with a tin of cookies. She started offering cookies to everybody. She had come back with a friend of hers named Maria. A very frail, thin looking girl. Maria started talking to me a little bit. She asked me about what I was doing and I explained just a little bit about how we were studying the school and why I spend time with different students. She told me a little bit about herself, that she was in the 9th grade for the second time. Last year she was in the annex, but now she's in the main building. She said she was left back. I asked her why. She said, "Oh, because I lost my report card." I said, "You lost your report card and you were left back?" She said, "Yeah, I lost my report card, but I failed English, Math and Science, too."

Carmen finished working on her stapling and she got up and went outside, so I went outside with her. She said that she was just going outside to get a drink of water, but she didn't do that. She went down the hall toward the principal's office. We went through the swinging doors and there was nobody on that side of the hallway at all, between the swinging doors all the way down to the principal's office, except Margarita. She was talking to the custodian, Bill. He's the black man who quite often operates the elevator on the left side of the lobby or the freight operator which is near the principal's office. Carmen and I walked up to Margarita and she was just standing there listening to this guy talk. He was telling her about how before they had oil, the school used to be run on steam heat and you had to get all this coal delivered and you had to shovel coal in these furnaces and he was explaining all of this to Margarita. She was just looking up at him. Then he said, "Well, I guess I better be going now." He turned and he waved goodby and he walked down the hall. Carmen and Margarita sort of looked at each other and laughed a little bit and then walked back towards the office.

This little episode took place about a minute before the bell rang and the kids were let in from outside anyway. When the bell did ring, Carmen said, "I'm going to go up to nursing now," and we started walking up to nursing. I asked her "Do you have the same teacher for nursing that Margarita has?" Carmen said, "No, I have a different teacher." We walked upstairs. As we were going, I asked her again, I said, "Now, I want you to have as close to a normal day as is possible." Carmen assured me that she would just have a perfectly normal day. I said, "How do you decide about classes?" She said, "Oh, if I feel like going I go and if I don't feel like going, I don't." I said, "Do you think you'll go to most of your classes today?" She said, "Well, I'll go to nursing. I don't know what else I'll do." She said, "Maybe I'll go to some. Maybe I won't. I don't know. I have to go to guidance today. I have an appointment with the guidance counselor." So we left it at that. She just hadn't decided if she was going to classes yet at that point, except that she was going to nursing. . . . .

[Here is our fieldworker's summation of Carmen's activities by the end of this day, ed.]

Let me review Carmen's schedule, so that there's a notion as to where she should have been and where she actually was. First period she's not in school. She comes in second period for record keeping, third period typing, fourth period nursing, fifth period study, sixth period health education which is swimming, seventh period lunch, eighth period Spanish and ninth period English. Out of this schedule, she went to nursing fourth period, study she spent in the dean's office and both her record keeping and typing she spent in the dean's office. Sixth period health education she went to the guidance counselor. Seventh period she went to lunch. Eighth period she cut and 9th period she cut. So out of the entire day, she went to nursing and lunch and was excused from health ed and study and she cut record keeping, typing and English. Just one note: Carmen told me that she had never cut typing before. On Monday when I was with Margarita, the typing teacher came by and thanked Gloria for the Christmas card that she had sent. Carmen said that that was one class she never cut. She said now she's cutting it because she doesn't like it anymore.

Incident #38. Characters: our fieldworker; several boy students. We mentioned that one common denominator of all three schools is the fact that bathrooms are important student territory in each, a place where students can hang out, smoke cigarettes, and do as they please. In Sheridan, the most notorious bathroom in the school is the fourth floor boys' room. Many teachers told us that drug trafficking goes on there. One of our observers penetrated the room one day, with some difficulty. The result was one of our best glimpses of a student sub-culture, complete with specialized slang, in this school. Contrast these boys' methods of making space for themselves with Carmen Nieves' methods.

Stairways 13 and 14, I started to notice, had a lot of kids standing on them. I went upstairs to the fourth floor and there was one boy who had Dino written on his sneakers hanging out at the corner. He had a black fur coat and a black hat with a gold buckle. A girl passed us carrying a book. I had met her downstairs when I was with Patricia Frederickson and Pat had told her where to go to return the book. The girl was just walking around the halls. She said to me, "Do you know what time the period ends?" I said, "No." She said she was just waiting.

So I stood in front of the fourth floor boys' room. I decided to risk going in and see what would happen. There was a lot of noise in there and the period ended about two minutes later. A boy named Rudy whom I knew came out and I said, "What would it take, you know, what would happen if I went in there." So he shook his head and he said, "That's a pool." I said, "What do you mean a pool?" He said, "You know, like the secretarial pool. That's the pool of the high school where everybody goes." Then he left and said, "You're just going to have to go in."

I noticed kids start to walk by and they had these coats, I call them carpet coats. They are corduroy, persian rug design types of coats and they have fur collars. One kid had a gold and black one. Another kid had a red and black one. I noticed that one of the ways they walked was with thumbs in their pants at the buckle. A couple of kids listed to the left, hunched over to the left. One boy went into the bathroom with a bag of potato chips and looked at me very strangely. Then two girls walked by and I noticed that they were wearing fur coats, rabbit fur. Then there were two guys who walked up and down five times in each direction. They kept walking up and down the whole period.

In the bathroom I heard loud laughter and falsetto voices. Then one kid went in and didn't come out for a long time and another kid went in and came out in 10 seconds. A guy looking for 442 was still walking around looking. The kid in the gold coat came by again. The girls again came by. The same two guys again. Then I heard one guy saying "How are you doing, bro?" around the bend. Then two boys came around. They had circular hats on, circular denim hats. (One of the principal's pet prohibitions is against wearing hats inside the school, ed.)

It was now 10:37. About 6 or 7 kids cleared out of the bathroom all at once. I'm wondering if it has anything to do with the fact that I am standing outside the door taking notes. I heard one kid called Sonny. He was in the gold coat. One kid walked by with an earring in his ear. Then a Puerto Rican girl walked by and said, "You saw me walking back and forth before, right? I'm getting lost." She has a shoulder bag that seems to be very popular shoulder bag among the girls. Then there was noise from the stairway. Three adult teachers, I don't know who they were, came out of the English office which was down the hall from the boys' room. Then a black boy, a tall guy, walked by. He had a powder blue comb in his hair. I looked down the hall and I saw Marvin Korzybski (a department chairman,ed) confronting the kid in the black coat with the wide brimmed hat from the gym, and he was also confronting those two guys that were walking up and down. He chased them off the floor. Then another kid went into the boys' room. He had a green coat with a yellow fur trim. He came back out with a white boy and another Puerto Rican kid. Then he went back into the boys' room. A Chinese boy with a tan buckskin shirt jacket went in. There was a lot of noise and laughter coming from the boys' room. There was one girl hanging around down the hall near her class. Then the three guys, the two Puerto Ricans and the white kid, came out of the boys' room and they went giggling around the corner. Then a girl came by in a rabbit coat at 10:48. Two more kids went into the bathroom. One boy came out. Then these three kids started taking turns checking out. One at a time would come out and look at me. They were laughing. There was a lot of noise coming from the bathroom, too. I heard one kid around the corner, not in the boys' room, say, "Check him out. He's tired of standing," because I was sort of squatting down. Then this student who is a dwarf went in and came back out and said he's still writing. So the three guys went back in at 10:55. They came back out and one said "Sonny where are you going?" Sonny nodded in one direction. He said, "You saw Lieberman?" (Arnie Lieberman is a guidance counselor, ed.) His friend said "No"

Anyway, at this point, out came these three guys again and one of them started saying to me, "Look man, I've got a black coat, a black shirt, white socks," and he started describing his whole outfit, so I starting smiling. So then what happened was that the three guys plus two other guys started standing around me and started talking to me and asked me what I was doing. One of the guys was a black guy named Bruce and he knew me. I had spoken in one of his classes. We started talking a little. I said, "What would happen if I went in there and just observed?" and they said, "Well, no man...we might have to run a study on how fast a body drops from the fourth floor." Then this one kid William said that he and this other guy Jerry (Jerry was not there today) had warned a teacher that if he came in again they would have to drop him out the window. The teacher never came back in. They started speaking about the boys' room. They said that last year the EP kids (EP is a special program, ed.) sort of controlled it, kids who were in EP and they were sort of crazy kids, but now they had taken it over. Bruce says they know when to be cool and when not to be cool. I asked them what classes they were in. George the kid in the green coat with the yellow fur, said he was in the 12th grade. Bruce was in the 12th grade. This guy Moe was in the 12th grade and Moe right away appeared to me to be very intelligent. As it turned out, the kids saw him as the brains and they used that term. Then there was William who was the white kid, and Roberto who was Puerto Rican. Bruce was black Puerto Rican and George Puerto Rican. George had a very fancy outfit on. His hair was very well groomed. Bruce also had a very fancy outfit on, including one of these carpet coats and print pants. They then started talking about the one thing that everybody agrees on which is that they hate Sontag, the principal. Bruce started telling a story about the time that Sontag had confronted his friend Zack. Mr. Sontag had just started to walk on because he thought Zack would walk on, too. But Zack sort of bad mouthed Sontag and went off. A week later he was walking along and Sontag grabbed him and suspended him.

Then I asked what it would take to get me in there and they said well we're going to have to tell a wild one whose name is Jerry and Mike about you. They then said, "all right, come on in." They did a lot of slapping hands and this went on for the entire time I was with these guys. Whenever somebody said something they liked or was funny or somebody agreed with something or understood what they were saying, they slapped hands. Like, "Right, yeah wow, slap." That kind of thing. They asked me if I smoked pot. I said no, man. One guy said, "Reject, reject." Everybody slapped hands. So we went in and there were three guys in this bathroom and they said "It's ok, it's ok." Then they started to describe the place to me. There had been a lot of graffiti that had been wiped out. There was one sign that said "You can keep on trucking, but it's better to keep on fucking." They said, "Joe did that yep." Bruce started pointing out all the chairs they had. There were sinks. There was a window sill. There were the frameworks around the bowls that were used as seats. Kids would use the toilet paper racks as the stepping stones to go up above them onto the framework.

The term mother fucker was used constantly in different situations. A lot of kids came in and were giving me looks of suspicion. Bruce said, "We're telling you a lot, man, but if we ever get busted, we'll only be in a few years and then we'll come out," and he said, "We also have friends." That was a polite threat that I really shouldn't do them in.

There were a lot of things going on. They were talking about things happening to them. They said I should go to the park. That's where a lot of guys hang out, but they wouldn't recommend me going into the bathroom there because that's where the big guys hang out. The park is down the block from the school. They spoke about joints and smoking. Williams said he had been busted 7 times in six weeks. He worked at the Finast which is the Finast that I go to, but they all said, "He's in the back drinking beer all the time." He said, "No, I don't drink beer, man, I don't drink beer." Then they teased him about losing weight. He said "Yeah, I've got to watch it." They used the term "tip". "Somebody tipped" means they left. Then at another point a kid came in with one arm, actually he had one arm with one hand and then the other arm had no hand on it. They called him lefty. That was the arm without the hand. They started to "snap" on him. "Snapping" means to sound someone out, but they left him alone pretty quickly. Then at another point a white kid came in. He looked very gangly and awkward. One kid said, "gaaauwk," but that was all. There were some black kids who came into this room and looked at me very suspiciously, waiting a little bit and couldn't seem to understand why guys were smoking cigarettes in there with my being there. Then at two separate times two black kids have these knives. One is sitting on the sink next to me and he has this long knife, about 6 or 7 inches long, and he's moving it across his own hands, as if feeling the sharpness of the blade. Some kids came in and looked at me and turned around and walked out.

At this point Mr. Kieberman came in and he said, "Ok, men, lets go, program cards." These kids were so swift that out of the five of them, three of them managed to get the same card to him to show him that they had lunch 6th period. It's now 6th period. Then he took the two kids who couldn't get it to him out. Within two minutes they were back. So I said to one kid, "Harry, what did you do." He said, "I went down to the end of the hall, I turned around and he wasn't there. I didn't know if I should come back. So I went upstairs to the fifth floor and came across the fifth floor and down the fourth floor and back in here."

Moe had been cracking different jokes at different times; he was very quick. He was saying, "Man, don't trust anybody over 30. Well, that's what we believe, that kind of thing." I said, "Nobody ever goes to the cafeteria because there's no freedom there." They said, "The only reason pot isn't legalized is because they're figuring out a way of taxing it. That's what they always do." They rolled a joint while I was there and smoked it. They said usually they have them rolled and William started talking about the fact that he had joints in his cigarette pack and that his mother found them. He had joints in his wallet and his mother found them. He had joints that he was sleeping on and his mother found them. That was the end of my experience there for that time period. I said goodby and I said I wouldn't come in for a couple of days. I just wanted to see what the reaction would be.

There was a big thing about grubbing cigarettes there, that everybody who came in either wanted a cigarette or had sort of licks on a cigarette. They used the term "I'll have to find it out" for describing that.

The next four incidents are all taken from observations of meetings of various committees within Sheridan. The first three meetings all considered questions having to do with evaluation. In each case we see that people on one level of the hierarchy resist being evaluated by those on another. In the fourth meeting a student suggests that the very students most alienated from the classroom be included in decision-making. Her suggestion is also resisted. All four incidents illustrate a principle of autonomy operating at each level of the hierarchy. Members of any level seem to feel that they know more about what goes on at that level than anyone else, and, consequently, resent being judged by outsiders to that level.

Incident #39. Characters: All Sheridan administrators. This is a meeting of the Executive Council of Sheridan. The council is composed of the principal, Mr. Sontag, the two executive vice principals, Edith Weissman and Milton Drucker, and all the department chairmen, who are also vice principals. The first excerpt is a discussion of the Board's proposal to send teacher trainers into the schools. The second excerpt shows the principal's reactions to being evaluated himself. The principal's reaction is especially ironic in that it sounds almost exactly like the words of teachers talking about being evaluated by him. Crucial background for understanding this incident and the next is the fact that there was a great deal of controversy in Sheridan during our fieldwork over teacher observations. In his first year, Mr. Sontag had given out more unsatisfactory ratings than had been given out in total for many years previously.

Then the principal said, "Now, point two is that there are teacher trainers being sent in from the board, and, ultimately, if Eloise Allman has her way, hoards will be coming in from the co-op program. He said that he believed that it was an abomination undermining the chairman's position. He said, "They pick up anyone, these people have inferior qualifications." Marsha Finney said, "There's some sort of supervisory help who thinks that he's going to come in here." Harvey Fishman said, "Well, in your case, there's no kickback, but in my case, if I tell my guy to go to hell, I lose positions." Mr. Sontag said, "Then I'll tell them we'll lose positions." He said, "We can't have too many supervisors. Only one chain of command. Chairman to principal." He said, "I've never had a conflict between chairman and principal and it's because of that." Edith Weissman said, "Isn't it conceivable that you might welcome a person?" Mr. Sontag said, "If you want and you welcome him and you sit down, that's fine." Marsha said, "That's dangerous," and Sontag said, "These yokels have nothing to offer. The people they tried to get from this school to do that really had no contribution. I saw that Miriam Schultz (a former Sheridan teacher) is one person who is doing this. I know that much." He said, "That does it." . . . . That issue was closed and they went on to the next one.

This was the CSA. B. Kroeber at some place recommended that new superintendents be given 3's and fairly experienced ones be given 4's and all full superintendents be given 5 as a way of evaluating. There was a length of service clause in there and it should be a rate of growth. That's what Irwin Sontag said. Then Gil Weinberg said, "Yeah, if Kroeber were rated on his executive directors, I wonder what he'd get." Edith Weissman said, "A two." So then Irwin Sontag said, "We had a circular on April 22nd and then one on the 24th correcting that and another one and now we're going to get another one. We're going to have to get the goals and the aims and the motivations of the lesson to them in terms of what we want to do." Edith went out for a phone call then. Mr. Sontag said, "The least you're going to have to do is the objectives for instructions, administration staff support, and relationships. I see these serving a purpose. I don't think it will serve the purpose that Anker wants to achieve, though." Marsha said, "I think they're going overboard on this." Irwin said, "Well, if you go some places. . . in some schools, if you go where there's no observation, no department conferences, this form won't eliminate that." He said, "The principal has to be on the line. If he says something's important, then it gets done. Testing, a department conference, or whatever." He said, "Brauner has 24 schools. I don't know how he's going to evaluate me. He's been here 4 hours one time and one hour another time. I don't see how he can rate me." Marsha said, "We'll rate you." Then Herbert said, "Oy."

Incident #40. Characters: Mr. Sontag, the principal; the rest are teachers and UFT members. This is a meeting of the Sheridan chapter of the teacher's union, the UFT. At a previous meeting, which our same observer had attended, it had been decided to request a meeting with the principal to discuss certain aspects of his methods of observing teachers. The meeting took place in the principal's office, that is, in his territory. We have already mentioned the high level of tension in the school over the principal's unprecedented number of "Unsatisfactory" ratings during his first year in the school. The people who speak in this meeting should be described briefly, as we will see them again later. Bill Lowry is the UFT chapter chairman in Sheridan. We interviewed him several times during which interviews he described to us his policy of trying to work with the principal on a cooperative basis rather than establishing an adversary relationship. Both Bill and the previous UFT chapter co-chairmen whom he replaced attributed Bill's election to the chairmanship to his advocacy of this type of policy. Eileen Shea was one of the principal's most outspoken opponents during our fieldwork. In the excerpts from the meeting presented here, we see Eileen agreeing with the principal, but at another point, she rose to berate him on another issue.

The next topic to be brought up was the topic of classroom observations. I forget exactly how Bill Lowry initiated the discussion on observations, but I remember at one point the question was put to the principal will you stop making observations of people out of license? Mr. Sontag made a flat refusal, "No, I won't." It was at this point that

Sontag made a definite statement saying, no I will not do this, or I will continue to do such and such, indicating that this was not an area of debate. This is my prerogative as principal and this I will do. The issue of observations, as was discussed in the earlier UFT council meeting that I attended was that Mr. Sontag should make attempts to observe people only when they are teaching classes within their license, that he should not if at all possible observe people who are teaching out of license. Mr. Sontag said he would not do this. His job is to monitor instruction. He said that he cannot monitor instruction unless he sees what a teacher is teaching. A couple of times Mr. Sontag asked Bill Lowry, "Bill, what do you expect me to do? If a teacher is teaching all classes out of license, am I not supposed to go in and see what that teacher is doing?" The teachers said, "In that case you would have to." You would have to make those observations." Then Bill said, "We would like you to at least not write up formal observations of people who are teaching out of license." Mr. Sontag said, "I can't do that. If somebody's incompetent or not doing their job, what do you expect me to do, not say anything about it or not do anything about it? I have to make those observations and I'll continue to do that." A couple of times I heard Eileen Shea agreeing with Mr. Sontag that he has to make observations of people whether it's within their license or out of their license.

Then there was a whole discussion as to the role of the chairman. Bill was saying that well, some assistant should be given to people who are teaching out of license. After all, a lot of people feel weak in this area. Sontag said, "This is the role of the chairman. I have instructed the chairmen to give every possible support to teachers." He said, "This includes giving them lesson plans, giving them materials, giving them curriculum guides, giving them demonstrations."

Bill was saying that in effect this does not happen, but Mr. Sontag said, "Well, I have directed the chairmen to do this." A couple of times Mr. Sontag made the point that for example in reference to the chairmen being instructed to aid the teachers, that a lot of this had taken place before he was principal. He said, "Three years ago there was much less instruction going on in this place. Three years ago the school was in a lot worse condition than it is now. Since the beginning of this year, I have made 50 observations. I like to know what's going on in this school. I like to have an idea of what instruction is taking place in this school." . . . . Now, just as an aside because I'm not sure at all where this fits into the conversation, but Sontag was talking about doing the things that one can do best. He said the thing that he felt that he could do best was to be a classroom teacher. He thought he was a good classroom teacher and he is going to return to the classroom and he is going to teach again. Because that is what he feels he is most qualified to do and does the best.

Then in the same context of this discussion, that had to do both with people starting their classes late and also with Sontag dropping in unannounced on classes, somebody said that because of all of these tactics, there is a morale problem in the school. One of the teachers mentioned that. He said, "There's a problem of morale. Teachers worry about when you're going to drop in and see them." Mr. Sontag said, "I don't think there's anything wrong with a little bit of tension. I think people are much more creative under tension and I don't mind having a little bit of tension in the school.

Incident #41. Characters: UFT members; two students, Barney and Shiela, both white. Another UFT meeting. This time the visitors are not the principal but two students who are members of another school committee. They have come to talk about "student-teacher communication; as they phrase it in the jargon of their leadership class. The UFT members quickly reinterpret their topic, however, as student evaluation of teachers. The two students, by the way, Barney and Sheila, are part of a relatively small group of Sheridan students who are very involved in student government. In general, the same students are often members of the different student and school committees. These students obtain certain privileges (Lucy Tong in Incident #35 is an example), but this is a good example of what happens when they try actually to influence school policy.

I went upstairs to sit in the teachers lounge and wait for the meeting to begin. When I went into the faculty room, there weren't any teachers there. There were just two students. One was Barney from the leadership class and the other was a girl named Sheila McMann. I had never seen her before. She has fair complexion and long blond hair. I sat down. Sam said hello. I said hello to them and I asked Sheila if she were from the leadership class also. She said no, she was on the curriculum committee with Barney. They said they were going to sit in on the UFT executive council meeting, that they were invited up here. I asked them what they had come about. They said that it was about some things that they had been discussing in the curriculum committee. I asked them a few questions about the committee. They told me that it's made up of students, teachers, parents and administrators; and that all curriculum changes go through this committee. I asked, "What actual powers does the committee have?" "It just has advisory powers. It can recommend things to the principal and all the important changes in curriculum that have come about in the school in the past year have come through the council. For example, we set up this high school equivalency program last year." Then Sheila said something to Barney like, "I'm really nervous. I'm not ready for this today." Barney said, "Don't worry." By now a few teachers were coming in. A few of them seemed to know Sheila and Barney and said hello. Bill Lowry came in and called the meeting to order. First they went over the minutes from the last meeting.

After the minutes had been read and discussed, Bill said, "If you don't mind, I'd like to bring as the first thing on the agenda the student discussion so that they don't have to stay here for the whole meeting." Then Bill presented Barney and Sheila and said that he had invited them up to explain something that had been discussed in the curriculum committee. Sheila started and presented the discussion that had come up in the curriculum committee. There was some feeling on that committee that there is a lack of communication between some teachers and some students. Some students have problems with a particular teacher. Some felt that there is a failure to communicate and that the curriculum committee would like to set up some structure by which these problems can be discussed. She and Barney had come from the curriculum committee to ask for the advice and the assistance of the UFT in setting up this kind of structure. The way that Sheila actually phrased this whole thing was that they had come to the UFT to help establish a structure for teacher-student communications.

Then there were a lot of hands being waved and Bill Lowry said "We'll just go around the room and each person will have a chance to ask the students questions." They started with Arthur Hoffman. Arthur started saying that the problem has to do with quality. Then he said, "You have to be sure exactly what the nature of your problem is." Then he said, "Aren't you in effect trying to review the quality of teaching?" Sheila said, "No, we're not reviewing teachers at all." Arthur said, "Well, if there was a problem in class communication. For example, if one kid comes up and says 'I'm having trouble with a teacher', the committee would look into that. They might figure, 'that's one kid'. But if one kid comes constantly or if a whole class comes and says they're having a problem with a teacher, that's something that the committee would look into." Then Arthur was saying, "You haven't really decided what constitutes a problem." At this point, Barney got up and said, "No, no, no. Here's an example of a problem." He talked about a student transfering out of a math class because he couldn't work in it.

Then the floor shifted to Dr. Cracow who raised his hand and said,- "I've been making some notes while you were talking. You may have noticed me making these notes. I've jotted down some words that

I would like some definitions of. The he talked about communication, he talked about relevancy, and he listed four or five works. I don't remember what other words he put down. He said I'd like you to define them. What do you mean by communication? Then Sheila tried to explain it again. Cracow said, "Aren't you really talking about whether or not you like a teacher?" Sheila said, "No, it has nothing to do with whether or not we like a teacher." Then Barney mentioned as one of the examples of problems that students have in communicating with teachers a particular petition that had been gotten up by one class. I don't know what the petition was about, but it had something to do with a conflict between a class and a teacher. The petition was drawn up by some of the students in the class and signed by everybody in the class and then given to the teacher. This petition was thrown in the garbage by the teacher in front of the class. Both Barney and Sheila referred to this example a couple of times whenythey were talking about the problems that students have in communicationg with teachers. Then there was some discussion on how students can know whether or not they are learning. Sheila said it has to do with whether or not a student feels like he or she is learning in a class. Cracow said, "Half the time a student doesn't know if he's learned anything until after he's gotten out of that class and gone to college. I've got students who come back to me now from college saying how much they learned in my class, but they didn't understand it at the time." Then he asked Sheila, "Why did you drop out of my physics class?" Sheila just sort of looked at him. Then a couple of people said, "Oh look, you're putting her on the spot. Don't put her on the spot. Don't ask her about that." But it turns out that Sheila had dropped out of Cracow's class in physics.

The next person to get the floor was Barbara Mandel. She said, "I've got a few questions that I would like to ask and have clarified. First of all, what is this curriculum committee, who is it, how is it selected?" It sounded like she was confusing curriculum committee with consultative council. So Sheila said well, this isn't the consultative council. This is the curriculum committee and Mrs. Weissman (an assistant principal) is the head of it. It's made up of students, teachers and parents. Then Barbara said, "How is it selected?" The two students didn't seem to know. They said that they had just been picked for the committee. Barbara said, "You weren't elected or chosen or anything like that ?" They said, "We were just picked for the committee."

After Linda finished talking, Eileen Shea took the floor. She made the point that what the committee was asking the UFT to do in effect was to assist in setting up a mechanism that would censor teachers. Eileen said that the UFT can't censor one of its own. That would be unprofessional. Eileen said that this was the job of the chairman. It's the chairman's responsibility to help a teacher. If the teacher is having a problem, it's up to the chairman to help the teacher with that specific problem.

Then Valerie took the floor and agreed with Eileen in a sense and said that there should be one person appointed by the school as a mediator between students and teachers when disputes come up. Valerie said that there are some schools that have a person serving in this position. This person is on staff. It's somebody who's trusted by both the students and the teachers. This person helps to settle any kind of dispute that arises. Then three different people in the room said that's the role of the chairman. It's the chairman's job to see to it that any kind of conflict like this is resolved.

Then some of the people at the meeting started to press Barney and Sheila as to exactly what they were talking about, how many teachers, what kinds of things would be brought up before this council. When asked specifically how many teachers were they talking about, they said well, maybe two or three. Then one of the teachers (I didn't know his name) said to Sheila, "You know, sometimes,. . . . ." and he was saying what Cracow had said before. He said that sometimes students don't realize that they're learning something because it has to do with whether or not a student likes or doesn't like a particular class, that sometimes it's very difficult for a student to tell whether or not he is learning. Heather said, "We're not looking at problems of one particular student. It's when an entire class says that they're having a problem with the teacher that the council would look into it.

Now, after everybody had gone around once in the room and made some comments, there were still a lot of people that looked like they wanted to say things, but Bill said he thanked Barney and Sheila for coming to the meeting and said that the executive committee would discuss this further and that he, Mike, would get back to them in a week or two and let them know what the decision was. Then Barney and Sheila got up and walked out. As they were going out, people started talking to each other. I couldn't hear exactly what was said, but, later on after the meeting was adjourned, I heard people talking about the proposal of the curriculum committee. There were comments such as "I don't like it," "It's teacher rating," and "One thing will lead to another." Bill Lowry in particular said, "I don't like this whole idea. It gets into rating teachers. I don't go for this." I sensed a pretty general opposition among the people to the proposals of the curriculum committee. It will be interesting to see when and if Mike does get back to those students and what is going to come from this. (Editor's note: nothing ever did)

Incident #42. Characters: Edith Weissman, an Assistant Principal; students; teachers; a guidance counselor; two parents (silent). Now we shift to a meeting of the curriculum committee that was mentioned in the previous incident. The head of this committee is Edith Weissman, assistant principal in charge of pupil services. A girl suggests that the committee should include some of the "kids across the street." The "kids across the street" are those that are to be found hanging out outside the school at any time during the day in almost any kind of weather. They are often cutting, and they are often the same students who come inside the school to cut and hang out in the stairwells and other clandestine spaces. The reactions to Melinda's suggestion don't divide up evenly along hierarchical lines. Maggie, the girl student who transferred from the private school, doesn't take to it immediately and Nora Webber, a guidance counselor, seems to see some merit in it. Nonetheless, the suggestion is thoroughly rejected. This situation should be considered in light of the question of the fit between educational expertise and power in the organization.

Then we got to new business of what people wanted to talk about. A black girl by the name of Melinda Coleman brought up enlarging the committee. She said, "The way we were recommended (she is speaking of the student members at the committee) was biased because it was only on the recommendations of teachers. For example, I was recommended by Mr. Hasselman (the student government advisor). We don't reach out and get others. There's something wrong with this. The kids across the street, for example, kids who are cutting classes should be involved in these committees because the programs of the school are not meeting their needs. Maggie (same Maggie as in Incident #26) then said, "But you know, one of the things the people on the committee have to be able to do is to relate to teachers." At this point Mrs. Weissman said, "You're not relating to the teachers. You're relating to a problem." Melinda said, "I don't know exactly how you equate relate." Mrs. Weissman said again, "I want to get something straight. You're not here relating to us. You're relating to the problem." Then Melinda started saying "The committee's function here is to change and those outside should be involved in the change." At this point, Mrs. Weissman tried to interrupt and Melinda said, "Are you going to let me finish talking?" Then she said, "We should recruit." Then Millie Gottbaum said, "You know this committee is already fixed. For example, I am a UFT representative here. You're a student representative. What you do is get their suggestions and bring them to the committee and then the next time, they can be on the committee. Melinda said, "Well, it's that important to me that I would be willing to step aside and have one other kid take my place." Then Maggie said, "You can articulate what their problems are," and Melinda said, "That's not my point. I see something lacking here." She said, "I know about 25 people who should be here." Mike said, "I'll take them in my leadership class." Then Henry Mazur said,"Do you have any particular candidates that I can relate to? If you talk in the abstract, I can't relate to it that much." Melinda mentioned Lydia Castro as being bery energetic. She said "Debbie Bloomer doesn't belong outside." At that point several people mentioned again funnelling. Mrs. Weissman said that it would get to be an awful chore unless they really have everybody. She said, "The thing I hesitate bring out is that the kids who are hanging out outside are missing out already on their classes and if they come to this meeting, they'd be missing out more. You people appear to have sufficient conscientiousness that you could miss a class and still do the work." Then Nora Webber, the guidance counselor, said, "Well, the opposite could be true. Where a person could have no stake and then get involved and have a lot of things happening." It was finally decided that if people wanted to speak on a given issue, they could be brought in, but for the most part, the committee was already constituted and the members would have to be representatives of other people.

Incident #43. Characters: Yale Stevens, a black boy student; Robbie, his friend, an Hispanic boy student; a school aide at the cafeteria entrance; our fieldworker. This incident is taken from observations of and interviews with Yale Stevens, a black boy who is a junior in Sheridan. Yale is part of a special program in the school designed to give students with high intelligence scores but from "culturally deprived" backgrounds" special training for getting into college. When our observer met Yale, he was in the Student Organization office. He had just mentioned that he was interested in running for the student government. Since there is actually a shortage of student candidates in Sheridan, we noticed that several teachers immediately began encouraging him and trying to recruit him, not only for student government elections, but for several other activities as well. Our observer subsequently discovered that Yale has been aware of the potential benefits of participation in school activities for much of his life.

I met Yale at the beginning of 5th period. We had arranged to go upstairs and conduct an interview during this period, but he had not eaten lunch, so I went with him to the student cafeteria first. His friend Robbie was with us. Yale is black and Robbie is Hispanic. As we approached the cafeteria, Robbie looked at me with a sly expression and whispered, "Watch this. You won't believe this guy." There is always a woman at the cafeteria entrance to check program cards. No one is allowed to go in except during the lunch period designated on the card, and no one is allowed to leave after entering until the period is over. Apparently, Robbie has a different lunch period than does Yale. Normally they would not be able to go in together. After Robbie whispers to me, though, he motions to Yale. Yale pulls out his wallet and starts shuffling through it. Yale has not one but several program cards. (I later found out that the exact number is six). He looks for one that has fifth period lunch marked on it and hands it to Robbie. When we get to the door, I explain to the aide who I am, and the three of us go on in.

. . . .

(Excerpts from interview later on)

M: While I was waiting for you down in the SO office, I was looking through a pamphlet I found on the desk called "The Student Handbook to Sheridan." It had lists of clubs and subway maps showing how to get to the school and that sort of thing. What I was wondering was what you would put in a book on how to get around and get along here. Say, if you were writing a handbook for your little brothers or some kids from your neighborhood who were coming here for the first time.

Y: (first he smiles and looks at me with a funny expression) Well, the first thing I would tell them would be how to fix the locks on the back doors so they could come in when they want to.

M: How do you do that?

Y: You know, it's not hard. You just stuff paper in.

M: What about the business with all your program cards? I've never seen anything like that. How did you get all those?

Y: Well, I get them from various teachers who like me.

M: They don't just give them to you do they?

Y: No. Like I go up to them and maybe I'll say I lost my card or something, and I need a new one.

M: But not just anybody could get away with that, could they?

Y: No. Like I said, usually they like me, and (he pauses). . . also they sort of expect something in return.

M: Like what?

Y: (He pauses for a long time) . . . I would say the main thing is, you know, cooperation.

M: Cooperation in class or outside of class? What kind of cooperation do you mean?

Y: I mean in class mostly. You know, like I pay attention and I don't cause too much trouble.

Editor's postscript: In a long series of interviews, Yale told us that he has been making friends with various teachers and community workers for a long time. When he was in junior high school he used to spend most of his afternoons at an after-school center in his neighborhood. He became close friends with some of the adults who ran the center. When he got to be a little older, he helped a PAL worker by coaching basketball teams of younger kids in the neighborhood.

Analysis: The cooperation that Yale says he barters for privileges with his teachers, as well as the respect he is accorded by Robbie and other students, mark him as an important student broker, one of those students who can bridge the gaps created by autonomy. Besides serving as a broker between students and teachers, he is also a linking pin between ethnic groups. Yale has at least two groups of friends with whom we saw him interacting. One group is made up of black boys like himself. The other group is a poly-ethnic group which is involved in student organizations, particularly the drama group in which Yale functions as a lighting technician.

Incident #44. Characters: Henry King, a black male drug counselor; black male students; two fieldworkers. This scene takes place in the halls and involves Henry King, the S.P.A.R.K. counselor mentioned in Incident #36. S.P.A.R.K. is one of several programs in Sheridan expressly designed to foster communication between adults and students on a more personal, less formal level than is currently possible in the classroom. Incident #36 showed that such programs do not always work as intended. This scene is an example of such a process functioning as it is supposed to do. Henry King seems to provide a powerful, positive role model for this group of boys, but it should be reiterated that he does not hold the formal role of teacher or guidance counselor. Consequently, his functions are officially supposed to be more limited than those of either of those positions. The question one might ask, although it would be difficult to answer on the basis of our information, is whether or not Henry King's rapport with these students can be attributed in part to the fact that he is not designated a teacher and does not have formal classroom possibilities. The other factor influencing his rapport with them is undoubtedly the fact that he is black, as they are. He does perform disciplinary functions, however, as we saw on several occasions.

Ed and I (two fieldworkers) were standing in the middle of the third-floor hallway at the period change. Henry King, the S.P.A.R.K. counselor came walking down the hall. He was walking in the middle of the group of black boys who were all dressed up in long coats. Two of them had earrings in one ear, but most of them were also wearing high-top basketball sneakers. Henry doesn't know me very well, but he and Ed are friends. Ed hides behind me until the group is just about even with us and then springs out at Henry, catching him by surprise. He stops to talk to us for a moment, but the boys keep talking to him the whole time, vying for his attention with us and with each other. They are talking about basketball practice. Meanwhile, they are constantly making dribbligg and shooting motions as many kids can be seen doing in Sheridan. It seems that Henry coaches these boys on a team that plays on the roof. They keep asking him questions about when they are going to practice. One tall black kid wearing a long red leatherette coat with a white fur collar says something to Henry. Henry asks the boy how many practices he has been to. The boy says, "Four." Henry says, "Four weeks or four practices?" The boy says, "Four practices." Henry tells him to get into shape. The boy says, "Listen, I'm in too good shape," and begins demonstrating his hook shot. These kids seem both relaxed and excited, as if they feel very cool in the hall walking around with their coach.

Incidents Inside Sheridan Classrooms

Incident #45. Before looking at classroom interactions in Sheridan, we must recall that there exists in this school a very definite model of the way a teacher should teach and of the way a class should be conducted. This model can be found throughout the New York City school system, but it is especially strictly insisted upon in this school. This model is called the Developmental Lesson Plan. The essential elements of the DLP are as follows. There should be an Aim (nowadays an Aim is more likely to be called a behavioral objective) which is a short statement of the purpose of the day's lesson and which should be written on the blackboard. Next there should be a Motivation, or some device for initiating the class' interest in the topic. Next come the developmental questions which should stimulate the class to discussion of the topic. Finally, there should be a summary. There are also some optional elements like a Medial Summary that are sometimes mentioned, but the preceding are the main elements on which teachers are evaluated when they are observed. They are also supposed to relate the topic and questions to the students' own experiences whenever possible.

The ways in which the use of the Developmental Lesson Plan is inculcated in Sheridan are many and powerful. New teachers are instructed to use it formally, both individually and in faculty conferences. Beyond the formal instruction in the use of the DLP, new teachers quickly learn from other teachers that they will be strictly evaluated against this standard when they are observed by their chairman or by the principal. If a new teacher should not get the point by the time he is observed, his observation report will make it abundantly clear the strict and rigid standards that "good teaching" is measured against in this school. Although almost everyone in the school, including Mr. Sontag, the principal, may be heard to say from time to time that the DLP is not the only way to teach, in fact, when push comes to shove comes to teacher rating time (and don't forget the fact that this principal does not hesitate to hand out U-ratings), it is the only way to teach in this school.

Thus, as the first classroom incident, we have chosen an example of a perfectly conceived and executed Developmental Lesson Plan. In fact, it was probably the most perfect example that we observed during our fieldwork. Not only does it contain all the classic elements, but it works as a teaching strategy in this case.

Characters: Marvin Roth, a young Social Studies teacher. His World History II class. Marvin Roth is a young teacher who has been in the school for a few years already. He is involved in the union and in other phases of school life, but, as he told us in an interview, he never rocks the boat. In his opinion, fighting the principal will never do any good because the principal likes a good fight. Therefore, although he is friendly with some of the more radical teachers, the radicals draw certain lines about what they will and will not discuss with him. Mr. Roth intends to pursue his teaching career in the New York City school system. As this incident shows, he has adapted himself to that system quite effectively.... and prudently.

As I was walking down the second-floor hallway, I spotted Henry Mazur and Marvin Roth standing in the door of Marvin's classroom. I asked Marvin if I could sit in on his class. He said sure, why not? I asked him what the class was. He told me World History II. This is on the second floor in the classroom next to the downtown western corner of the building.

I took a seat in the back of the classroom. When the bell rang, a student in the back of the room closed the back door and the teacher closed the front door. The first thing he said was, "Jose, put that away." I didn't see what he was referring to but Jose said, "It's mine." The teacher said, "I'm sure it's yours." There was some laughter. The teacher talked to a boy in the front of the room individually for a minute. The students in the classroom were as follows. There were two Chinese boys, three Chinese girls, two white girls, three white boys, four Spanish boys, five Spanish girls, three Black girls, and one Black boy.

While the teacher talked to the boy in the front of the room, the students in the room were talking quietly to each other. Marvin Roth is a tiny young man. He used to have long hair, but cut it off between semesters. Today he was wearing a shirt and a tie with baggy pants and fancy shoes. He looked up at the class and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, homework 25 should be left on the desk as you leave. Homework 26 is due tomorrow." He said, "Tonight on TV on channel four will be the second part of Judgement at Nuremberg. You ought to watch that." A Spanish boy in the middle of the class raised his hand and started talking, without being formally recognized, about a program on Russian prisoners which was going to be on channel 11 that evening. The boy stammered a little bit as he / got this information out. Immediately after this, the teacher turned the class' attention to the side board where he had drawn two graphs. As the teacher turned toward the board, a Spanish boy sitting in the front row stuck his tongue out at the teacher's back vigorously. One of the graphs on the board showed unemployment in Germany from the 20's to the 30's. The other showed the make up of the German legislature during those same years. Then he started developing a very systematic lesson, occasionally asking questions from the students, but first he went into it and explained all the information that was represented by the graphs. Then he connected the information between the two graphs, showing how the Nazis had gained power in Germany and also what part the communists had played in this political situation. Then, after spending 15 minutes on these graphs, he wrote a question on the board, "Why did Hitler rise to power?" and developed a very systematic outline of the reasons for his rise to power. Mr. Roth spent the whole class in a very systematic and methodical presentation. He talked very clearly, he allowed the students to talk, and they did contribute from time to time.

Now, we'll talk about some of the interactions in the room that went on during the lesson. It was an excellently prepared and presented lesson that was developed quite logically. A great deal of information, opinions, and a little bit of discussion went on during the class period.

The first question the teacher asked he directed to a Spanish boy. He said, "Alberto? Alberto Muniz?" Alberto got the correct answer. In fact, most kids called on were able to answer because the questions did not depend so much on the homework as on the graphs on the board right in front of them and the things that they had just been talking about.

After Alberto answered, a white boy with long curly hair tied behind his head took a series of questions and talked with the teacher for the next portion of the lesson.

Around me I noticed a Chinese boy looking at a small leather book with calligraphy on the front. There was a white girl thumbing through a book on her desk, A Bell for Adano. A white boy and a Spanish girl were drumming their fingers on their desks looking impatient and glancing around the room. A white girl sitting in the back of the right side of the room had a look of somewhat defiant boredom on her face.

When the teacher got to the point where he wanted to find out the connection between the two graphs, he asked a boy sitting in front of me who had very dark skin but who was Spanish. He said, "Emilio?" Emilio immediately found the proper connection between the graphs which was that the seats of the Nazis in the German parliament had increased as unemployment had increased. Marvin said, "So, the Nazis caused unemployment, is that it?" Emilio hesitated for a minute and gave a tentative, "yeah" and then started to say that it was the other way around. The teacher said, "That's one possible conclusion. Let's see what other possible conclusions there are." Then the teacher went to the front of the board to write the question, "Why did Hitler rise to power?" on the board. Emilio all of a sudden started giggling as if to ridicule the teacher, probably because he was embarrassed at just having spoken up and given the correct answer.

After Mr. Roth had written the main question on the board, "Why did Hitler rise to power?" he started developing a list of reasons. First he would mention a broad category and then make an outline and fill in specifics under that category. But his presentation brought out this extremely structured lesson in a seemingly organic way. That is, the topics progressed very naturally from one to the other. He kept relating them back and forth and getting kids to comment on them and help develop the list. A white boy and Alberto were adding to the list. Occasionally one of them would ask a question and the teacher would give a very immediate and lucid explanation.

In the middle of this, a Spanish girl raised her hand and asked for a pass. The teacher nodded ok, and then fumbled around on his desk and said to a white boy in the front of the room, "Jim, where did we stash the pass?" The boy said, "Who, me?" The teacher said, "You had it, didn't you?" All of a sudden the teacher found it and pointed his thumb toward the door for the girl to go. She got up and left.

While the teacher had his back turned closing the door, Emilio in front of me gave a loud psst to a friend of his in the middle of the room. They said something back and forth which I didn't catch.

The class went on with the development of the lesson and in just a couple of minutes the girl returned and the teacher opened the door in mid-sentence for her to come in. When they came to the part of the lesson about Hitler's master race theory, which was under the broad category of nationalism, he wrote under "Nationalism" the belief that "Germans are superior to other people." A Spanish boy asked the question, "Didn't the other people do anything about it?" The teacher explained, "Well, he was talking to Germans. 95% of them went along with it." Somebody said, "What about the other 5%?" He said, "Well, they beat them up." Then he compared the situation to William Shockley's speeches. He explained

Shockley's position first of all. He said Shockley believes that whites are mentally superior to blacks. "Now if you tried to speak on his views in front of a black audience, you might run into a problem." There was laughter in the room at this.

The teacher's speaking style might be described as a pregnant pause style. He would say one thing presenting an apparent problem, wait for just a moment to let the question hang in the air, and then answer it himself.

Towards the end of the class, a Spanish boy said to the teacher as he was getting toward the end of his outline, "You write too much." The teacher said, "Jose, I figure you come in once a week. I have to get in as much as possible." The class laughed at this. Jose replied, "I don't come in once a week," in an indignant tone of voice. He said "Twice." Then Jose and Emilio made some remarks back and forth across the back of the class. Soon after this the bell for the end of the period sounded. The teacher finished his presentation a couple of seconds after the bell when everyone stood up. The teacher came back to the room, looked at me making notes and said you must have six pages by now. I nodded and thanked him and left school for the day.

Analysis: In this example of the DLP, we see that the teacher does manage to lead the class in a discussion in which they participate and he controls the agenda. The use of the charts on the board enables students to respond and participate even if they have not prepared their homework. Some students still maintain autonomy by not participating. Notice the bantering between teachers and students about cutting. By joking about rule-breaking, the teacher is showing the students that he is quite aware of some of the strategies that Sheridan students employ during their school day.

Incident #46. Characters: our fieldworker; Mrs. Kershaw, an English teacher; students in one of her classes. Although Marvin Roth's lesson in the last example seemed to be very effective, we noticed that there was a great deal going on in that classroom besides the formal lesson. Some students seemed bored, some were reading outside material, and some were talking among themselves. The following class is one in which the teacher and the lesson have a much less firm command of the students' attention. In this case we see absolute refusal of some students to participate in the lesson. In addition, the rather harried teacher lets drop some remarks which clearly indicate that she does not think much of the students' ability or motivation to learn. The factors of different age, ethnicity, and hierarchical position all seem to be involved in the barriers between this teacher and this class. Notice, however, that the expressions of disrespect and hostility emanating from both the teacher and the class do not seem bitter or personal. In fact there seems to be some genuine affection here, as the teacher states after the class. Instead, the conflicts being acted out here seem to derive almost entirely from role rather than from personality factors.

For fifth period, I went back up to the third floor and sat in on an English class. I introduced myself to the teacher, Mrs. Kershaw, and she actually invited me to sit in on the class. The class was English 555. Before the bell had rung, Mrs. Kershaw was writing information on the board as to an upcoming English midterm exam, which was to be Wednesday, December 19, 8:45-10:00 a.m. After the bell had sounded for the beginning of the period, she began listing the different parts of the upcoming midterm and the number of points for each, such as spelling 10 points, grammar 20 points, etc. As she listed the various categories of English on which they would be tested, she would say, "Which we do all the time," as in "grammar, which we do all the time," "parts of a book, which we do all the time," vocabulary tests, etc. At the end of her list, she said that there would be a composition on the test which would count for 30 points and which would be on the book Street Sounds. She told the students to write more than a sentence for the composition.

Mrs. Kershaw talked to the class rapidly, and her voice sounded to me as if 1) she did not expect them to be listening carefully to what she said and 2) as if she had a sense of having said the same things over and over and was repeating them in a somewhat automatic manner. Also, she seemed to expect them to remember her having said these things before. Next, she began handing back homework papers and calling out students' names. Either all or 90% of the names in this class were Spanish. The first paper she handed out to a boy in the front row. He immediately wrinkled it up in disgust. She told him not to tear the paper up, to look and see what his mistakes had been, to see why he hadn't gotten a 95. All of a sudden, she yelled at one of the girls to be quiet. The girl's name was Mildred and she said, "No." The teacher said, "Yes" and Mildred said, "No." This kind of talk and back talk was constant throughout the period. It was more or less goodnatured in various instances. Mrs. Kershaw when talking to the students about the test made a remark that too many students were absent three days per week and that they could not expect to get better than 50%.

The lesson for the day began with the copying of a list of spelling demons from the text. As she began to do this, a tall boy whose name I later learned was Ernesto came up to me and told me that I was sitting in his assigned place which was the last seat on the second row from the right. I apologized and moved into the next seat. But Ernesto did not sit down for about five minutes during which time he was fiddling with the locker behind me. The class began an exercise of correcting grammatical errors in sentences from examples in the book. While the students were writing sentences on the board, Mrs. Kershaw walked back to talk to me and explained in a voice easily loud enough for the students to hear that this was a very slow class whose students would not go to college. I asked her what level class it was. She told me it was a junior class, but then explained that their reading levels were very low, about sixth grade. Then she showed me the book Street Sounds about which she said "we're very thrilled." I looked at the book and it consisted of stories about urban youths. When the teacher had gone back to the head of the class, she mentioned Friday and one of the boys in the back row said, "I was here Friday, man." The teacher said, "Oh, yeah? I'll check." As she said this, an "ohhhh" went up from the class as if she had caught the boy in a game. When she was talking to the students about grammatical errors, she made comments such as the following: "You don't read. You stay home and you watch television." At another point, the teacher said, "What's going on today? It's too quiet." One of the girls said, "Today's Monday, man." The teacher went, "Man?"

The studentssaid, "Yeah, man." The teacher's mocking of this usage and the students' counter mocking by intentionally using, "Man" in addressing her and each other continued throughout the period. When Mrs. Kershaw asked one of the students, a boy sitting in the middle of the room, wearing a fatigue jacket, to write a sentence on the board, he sat there sullenly and refused to get up. She approached and pushed him and kidded him somewhat, but he did not go up to the board and she let the matter drop. She also yelled at a girl sitting in the second row from the front whose name was Diane. Diane immediately yelled back, "Leave me alone, teacher." The teacher replied, "Diane, all you're good at is talking." Then she addressed the class in general shortly afterwards. "You're very sleepy today. Not enough noise. Boy." In correcting one of the sentences on the board, she pointed out a double negative and told the students that if they ever took a grammar test for a job that they would certainly encounter a double negative on the test. As examples of jobs they might take tests for, she mentioned the post office and Macy's. As soon as she did this, Ernesto, the boy sitting to my left, said in a voice loud enough for me to hear and possibly for my benefit, "You're trying to embarrass us." Then the teacher introduced a plea for good penmanship and demonstrated a scribble on the board which produced a round of laughter from the class. She then yelled at Diane again for talking and told the class, "You're a slow class. You don't learn."

I should point out, however, that the banter in this classroom was not always harsh by any means and was certainly two sided.

At another point, the teacher asked a student how to spell a word. Another student said to the teacher, "You don't know how to spell that? Wow." The teacher went along with the joke and said, "I don't know."

About 2/3 of the way through the class, a girl walked in wearing a red coat who had a long black braid. She had a note that she handed to another girl in the first row and then she sat down halfway down the row. At the end of the class period, Mrs. Kershaw admonished the students not to take the books home and they stacked them at the back of the room. She then came back and talked to me briefly and repeated that this was a slow class that I had been observing. But then she also observed that the students had cute personalities and that she liked to joke with them. She seemed to be expressing genuine affection for the class when she said this. Another class was entering at this time and she pointed to a tall Black boy who had walked in and said out loud to me, "This is a wonderful boy. He writes poetry." Then she pointed to another girl and mentioned some achievement of hers.

Incident #47. Characters: Margaret Rossini, an English teacher; students in one of her classes; our fieldworker. In this class we see exactly the same kinds of divisions between teacher and students that we saw in the previous incident. This teacher, however, does not evince attitudes indicating low estimation of the student's learning ability. She accomplishes the extraordinary task of keeping up with the tumult in her classroom while turning some of it to educational advantage.

I was walking down the middle corridor just after the bell for the beginning of the sixth period sounded. As I was walking the hall the front doors of the classrooms on my right shut right in order, one, two, three, slam, slam, slam. There was one door left open. I looked inside and saw Margaret Rossini. I asked her if I could sit in on her class.

She said, "Yes, this is an 8-5 class like we discussed." (That morning in the teachers cafeteria, she had explained to me the number system for designating classes. In this case, "8" refers to the eighth term of English. The "5", which is really the middle number, designates a "modified" rather than a college preparatory curriculum. The last number, in this case "6", is the period of the day. Thus, this class was English 856.)

I went in and took a seat at the back. Most of the students were already in their seats. A large black boy, tall and broad shouldered, by the name of Mike, who was wearing a print shirt and glasses and a short natural hair cut came and sat down in the back corner of the class next to me. The teacher told him, "Mike, sit down." Mike sat on the folded up edge of the folding seat.

She said, "down, down."

And he said, "I am down."

She said, "down." And he finally unfolded the seat and sat down. The teacher announced, "Vocabulary today." There was an awful lot of noise in the room, at the beginning and continuously throughout the period. There were a couple yells of protest when she said "vocabulary." She said, "Like every Friday. We have seven words." There were a couple of more protests and she said, "Would you like to have ten like last time?" And there was a chorus of no's. There was a list of seven words on the board and Mike asked the teacher, "What does diplomatic mean?"

The teacher began explaining the word diplomatic and Mike said "That's what the teacher called me today. Told me I was diplomatic."

Margaret Rossini then said, "That means you said the right thing, at the right time, and got yourself in a good position to do something. You must have been giving him some jive, Mike."

At this word "jive" from a teacher, a black girl named Carla in the back of the class reacted, "What, what," as if the teacher had no right to use the word because the teacher was white.

Shortly after this Mike got up and moved to the front of the class. The make-up of this class was as follows: There were 4 Spanish girls, 5 Spanish boys, 1 Chinese girl, 1 Chinese boy, 1 Black boy, 4 Black girls, 1 white girl.

The girl Carla who was sitting in the back of the right row of the class kept up a steady stream of agitation and the teacher kept talking to her. The teacher was asking for sentences made with the vocabulary words on the board. Carla gave a sentence for the first word, and then started yelling, "We had that word before."

The teacher said, 'Well if you had listened a few minutes ago, I said we were going to have some review words as well." The teacher then asks Carla to be the secretary.

Carla says, "What?"

The teacher says "Could you just write these sentences on the board?"

Carla walks up to the front of the room. She is a rather thin girl who's wearing a hat and who has slightly buck teeth but a quick tongue. There's a lot of joking in this class, a lot of quips at which the teacher laughs and sometimes the teacher is laughed at too. Also sometimes the teacher is able to quip back so that the students laugh at the one giving the teacher the trouble, in this case Carla in particular. One of the vocabulary words is "pessimism." Mike comes up with the sentence, "I have a lot of pessimism about school."

The first few sentences with pessimism that the kids offered had the word pessimistic in them instead and the teacher was quick to point out the difference between the adjective and the noun, but she did not call them adjectives and nouns. She called them "things"and "describing words." When the sentence "I have a lot of pessimism" was written on the board, the teacher stressed that "a lot" was two words and not one. And then she started talking about the verb "to allot." As she was talking about this, Carla kept deliberately writing the wrong versions of the words on the board. The teacher rubbed the wrong one out with her hand and put it in the right way very quickly with some chalk.

The next word on the board was ecstasy. One of the girls in the class complained that she had never heard or seen the word before. The teacher said, "Oh yeah? I thought I heard it in a song."

Then a black girl in the middle of the class said, "Oh yeah," and said that she knew of a song with that word in the title. And she started to think of who had recorded the song and turned around to another black girl sitting behind her saying, "It's by the same people who made,..." and she named the title of another song, but neither of them could think of the artist, and the teacher told them to think about it and tell her later.

The next vocabulary word was physician. Carla came up with a sentence which the teacher heard wrong. The teacher thought Carla said, "Mrs. Rossini is a physician."

And the teacher said, "No, I'm not a physician."

Then one of the girls said, "No that's not what she said. She said Mrs. Rossini needs a physician." There was a roar of laughter in this in which the teacher joined and then she told Carla, "Listen, keep your diagnosis to yourself."

Having finished with the vocabulary words the teacher said that they would continue to read the play that they had been reading. She went to one of the lockers at the side of the room to get the books. The play that they were reading was Life with Father. The teacher suggested that Carla read the part of Whitney, and Carla screamed out, "I don't want to read no damned Whitney."

So the teacher gave the part to another, but Carla got the part of reading the stage directions which she did. The class quieted down a good deal as the play began. The row I was sitting in, which was the extreme left hand row of the room, didn't venture a word during the entire class period.

There were 3 kids in the row. Most of the other kids in the class were talking a good deal during most of the period. While they were reading the teacher wrote a couple of words that they had read on the board. The two words were "graft" and "floundering." She stopped the play in the middle to explain the words and to ask the students if they knew what they meant. She explained graft in terms of policemen being paid protection from a neighborhood store owner. Mike repeated her explanation in street language, "Oh, yeah, you can make another little on the side."

The teacher said, "Yeah, what we call money under the table."

The excitement rose fairly often during the reading of the play. At one point Mike started singing a little bit to himself and everyone started laughing and the teacher said, "Mike don't go crazy."

The teacher was continually explaining words. She talked very rapidly and interacted very rapidly with the kids. Sometimes she seemed to be going even faster than they.

One point in the middle of the reading she said to the boy in the U.S. Mail shirt, "Do you want to read Whitney now?"

He said, "okay," but then he said, "Where are we," for he had not been following the play in his book. He started to read, but he had the wrong place. She told him that it was wrong. He tried another but it was still the wrong place so she gave the part to someone else and told him not to feel bad.

While the teacher was explaining some words, Carla jumped back in with her narrator part and neatly cut off the teacher's explanation, which the teacher accepted and the play went on. About ten minutes from the end of the period I saw the teacher check her watch a couple of times. Then I saw one Spanish girl sitting in the front of the class hand 2 copies of Seventeen magazine to another Spanish girl. The girl who received the magazines opened them up and started reading them. They then came to the part of the play where one of the characters describes an awkward turn of the century courting scene, in which he goes over to a girl's house for tea and makes excruciatingly painful and dull conversation about the weather. The teacher stopped the story here and asked the students if they had ever had any similar experience. Carla immediately started in and a number of the other girls joined in deriding the characters in the play and trying to talk about the wild things they themselves did.

Carla yelled out, "All that tea and shit, what is that? I want some beer." The class laughed, the teacher looked outraged and then Carla went, "Colt 45, some scotch." The teacher calmed her down a little bit, and tried to get the students to talk about the embarrassment they might have encountered on a first date, a situation of that sort.

Carla yelled out, "You can't go slow any more, you gotta go fast."

And a lot of the other girls were screaming with laughter saying similar things. At this point Mike spoke up and gave a brief explanation of the kind of situation the teacher was talking about, although in more of a street version. He also used the word "tongue-tied" which the teacher approved of, but Carla started making trouble, saying, "tongue-tied," what does that mean? I don't understand that."

Then Mike spoke very authoritatively. He said, "You know, like when you want to tell somebody something but you just can't quite get it out." And then he said in a challenging tone of voice, "You know where I'm comin' from?"

Mike seems to have a good deal of cool in the eyes of the other students in the class, because no one, including Carla, would challenge him on this. A few minutes later though Carla went into an outburst that was more extreme than anything before. The language had gotten increasingly foul in the past few minutes. Finally she let out with a stream of obscenities that caused the teacher to say, "Carla, watch your language."

Carla stopped at this moment and said, "okay, I'm sorry."

The teacher said, "Mr. Sontag would have a heart attack if he walked by now." At this the students laughed somewhat but the teacher and I roared. In the last two minutes of the class I saw the students and the teacher looking at their watches. The bell sounded for the end of the class and the students left. I walked up to the teacher and asked if this had been the class that another of our fieldworkers had observed the day before. She said, "No, this is a different section of the same class. They both certainly take a lot of energy to teach."

Analysis. Two aspects of this incident stand out in light of the problems we have been discussing. First, the reaction of the black girl Carla to the use of the word "jive" by the white teacher is a clear indication of the existence of feelings of cultural autonomy on Carla's part. The later group reaction of several girls to the turn of the century mores described in the play are another indication of feelings of cultural autonomy. The ethnic and cultural differences between the teacher and the students stand out in this example, but they are also inextricably bound up with differences in age and hierarchical position. It should be mentioned that there is another kind of cultural autonomy operating here, but this second kind is much harder to notice because it is expressed in silence rather than in noise. We refer to the fact that the left hand row of the room, which remained almost completely separate from the interactions described above, contained the only two Chinese students in the room. The silence of Chinese students in classes is a definite regularity of behavior in this school which is often attributed by the teachers to the "Hong Kong educational system" from which most of the recent Chinese immigrants have come and in which students are not expected to speak in class. Thus, both the animation of the black and Spanish students and the silence of the Chinese students in this class can be seen as ways of maintaining their various cultural norms in this setting.

Further, both of these manifestations of cultural autonomy, the disruptiveness of Carla and the silence of the Chinese students, present problems for the effectiveness of the Developmental Lesson Plan model of instruction. The effectiveness of the DLP, as we saw in Marvin Roth's class, depends on both control of the agenda of the class period by the teacher and on the answering of questions and contribution of comments and observations by the students. A straight lecture by the teacher delivered to a classroom of silent, in the Hong Kong manner, students is not an effective Developmental Lesson. Neither is a class period dominated by the students' agenda. Notice for example how Carla in this example constantly tries to replace the teacher's agenda with her own. We do not mean in this analysis to evaluate the soundness of the Developmental Lesson Plan as an instructional model but merely to analyze the varying sets of norms operating in this classroom. This brings us to the second important aspect of this incident which is the role played by the black boy student Mike in bridging the gap between the teacher's norms and those of at least part of the students.

The role played by Mike in this situation is an excellent example of an important mediation process between the teacher and the students. The fact that Mike (1) entertains respect in the eyes of his fellow students and (2) cooperates with the teacher's presentation makes him a sort of broker between the teacher and the class. Notice that when Mike supports the point the teacher is trying to make about the courting scene in the old-fashioned play, none of the students participating in the ridicule of the play will go so far as to challenge Mike. To return to a point that we considered earlier, the teacher in this situation is obviously not unaware of the advantage of having a student ally, or, as we might call such a person, a mediator or broker. At one point, Mrs. Rossini can be seen trying to "defuse" Carla by asking her to be the secretary. This strategy of dealing with uncooperative students is one that we heard explicitly formulated on several occasions during our fieldwork in this school. At the teachers' meeting for example which had been organized around the topic of the "slow learner," one of the teachers on the panel suggested to the meeting that one way of handling trouble was to pick an "eager beaver" at the beginning of the term to write things on the board. That way, it was explained, the teacher need never have to worry about asking a student to do something and then being openly refused (Remember that we just saw this exact situation in Mrs. Kershaw's classroom.)

Incident #48. Characters: Margaret Rossini, an English teacher; the chairman of the English department, Mark Rabin; our fieldworker. In the last incident, we were able to ascertain at least three sets of norms operating in Mrs. Rossini's classroom, those of the teacher, those of the black and Spanish students, and those of the Chinese students. We also saw that certain processes of mediation were at work to overcome these gaps, namely the broker function provided by one of the students and, though we did not explicitly analyze it, the ability and willingness of the teacher to give the students a lot of rein and then keep up with the dizzying pace of interactions. In allowing the students to assert their own social rhythms, however, the teacher was running up against a fourth set of norms operating in the classroom. This incident, recorded three days later, reveals this other set of norms.

I went up to the teachers' cafeteria about ten minutes before the end of the period. I ate a quick lunch and as I was leaving the cafeteria, I ran into Margaret Rossini whose class I had observed on Friday. She said, "Are you going down?" nodding toward the stairs. I started walking with her. She asked me what I thought of her class. I said, "Well, you asked me before if I had observed an 8-5 level class," and I told her that I had. I said, "What I noticed chiefly about yours was that there was a lot of noise, but it seemed to be directed somewhat." I said, "I mean you put up with some shit." She quickly replied, "Well, I don't mind that." She then went on to tell me that the English chairman had observed her class two times and had told her "A quiet atmosphere is a learning atmosphere." She said, "I don't believe in that."

Analysis. Although Mrs. Rossini did act within certain of the norms dictated by the Developmental Lesson Plan, she did not hew quite close enough to them to suit the administration. She did control the agenda and she did an excellent job of engaging the students in discussion, especially with regard to the meanings of words. The noise and eruptions in her classroom, however, obviously did not quite suit the ideal picture of the DLP classroom held by her department chairman. We saw the presence of the administration's norms in this class in the teacher's remark that, if the principal should be walking by, he would have a heart attack.

Another aspect of this incident that might be mentioned is that Dr. Rossini, as we saw in the Event Analysis in Unit II, is considered "a feather in his cap" by her chairman because of her Ph.D. That rank of merit allows her a certain amount of autonomy in her classroom that other teachers might not have.

Incident #49. When there are several sets of norms present in one classroom, there is obviously some question as to which set will prevail at any given time. In these next incidents, we are primarily concerned with examining and analyzing the processes of mediation and negotiation by which such conflicts are resolved. There is no one process nor any one outcome of such processes. Therefore, the rest of the incidents we present are chosen to show a range of the kinds of classroom behavior which we observed.

One of the clearest disparities between the formally stated norms, that is, the formal rules of this school, and the students' behavior is around the question of attendance. The school requires students to attend school five days a week, but on any given day the attendance rate is on the average only slightly over fifty percent. A similar situation exists with respect to lateness. Students are not supposed to come into class late, but they often do so. In fact, the frequency of tardiness is such that many teachers do not even bother to fill out slips or comment when a student comes in late. The following two incidents show two extremes of teachers' responses to this situation in their face-to-face interactions with their students. Characters: Steve Henson, an art teacher; students in his class; our fieldworker.

Besides the teacher, Steve Henson, who was dressed casually in shirt sleeves, there was a student teacher in the room who was a young woman wearing a smock. As soon as the class began, Steve Henson began calling the role. I had met him a week before the day of the teachers' conferences. I had observed the casual and affable manner of his in the teachers' cafeteria when dealing with other teachers. I was surprised to find him strict with the students. As he was calling the role, he came to a black boy named Edwin. He asked Edwin menacingly where he had been the day before. Edwin said, "I wasn't here," as if that were all that were required of him. But the teacher persisted and said were you home? Edwin said, "Yeah." The teacher said, "Were you sick?" Edwin said, "No. I was just home," leaving it at that. The teacher then said, "Well, you have a 0 from that day's work and you're going to have to make it up for me. I'll talk to you later." The teacher said these things in a quiet voice, but a voice which was fairly menacing when he wanted it to be.

While he was still calling the roll, a black girl named Shirley came in the room late. He asked her where she had been. She hesitated for a minute and then said, "I was talking to a teacher." Mr. Henson paused a moment and then said, "Which teacher?" Shirley didn't reply. Then, as if this were the answer he expected all along, he said, "You can't remember the name, huh?" He said this in such a sarcastic way that the girl responded all of a sudden. She sputtered out, "Why do you go through that? If I didn't say that, we would just make some other kind of bull shit up, wouldn't we?" Only the last part of her sentence was too soft to hear and the teacher said, "What did you say?" She repeated, "It would just be some other bull shit." Immediately he said, "Ok, that's it. Let's go to the dean." He took her out of the room by the back door and left the student teacher in charge.

Analysis. Mr. Henson's reaction to Shirley's refusal to respect the formal rules is at one extreme of possible reactions. The Dean's office exists to deal with rule infractions and Shirley refuses to acknowledge the rules, much less observe them. In response, the teacher does not negotiate or seek an avenue of mediation. He removes her from his class. Clearly, in this classroom, there is little question as to whose norms will

Incident #50. Characters: Nancy Nall, a girls health education teacher; girl students in her class; our fieldworker.

Today was the first day of the second term and I visited several classes in order to see how teachers and the classes established relations with and expectations of each other during their first encounter. The first class that I visited was the girls' health education class taught by Nancy Nall, a young woman teacher. After outlining the term's curriculum for the class, she announced that she was going to give them a quiz every day at the beginning of class. She explained her reasons to the class by using the expression "sit on." She said, "I've found that if I don't sit on my classes, they never do anything. The comprehensive exam in this course isn't all that easy, and if you expect to do well on it, you have to do the reading. And if I don't give you quizzes, I don't think you will do the reading." The girls groaned softly after this speech, and then one of them, a black girl whose name I don't know, raised her hand and started to bargain with the teacher. She asked if they could have only one quiz a week. The teacher thought a minute and then said, "Ok, I'll start out with one quiz a week. But if most of you start doing poorly on that, I'm going to sit on you, and I mean it." Then the teacher paused a minute and then she asked, "Which day should it be? I know you don't want it on Friday, because Friday is cut day. Am I right?" The girls relaxed visibly and began to laugh at this. One of them said, "Not Monday, either. Monday's cut day too." There was some noise around the room, and finally, one girl said, "Let's face it. Every day is cut day." The teacher didn't say anything further except to repeat her warning about giving daily quizzes if the class started to do poorly.

Analysis. This situation is at the opposite extreme from the previous one in terms of the implicit rules of what can and cannot be discussed openly. In the previous incident, the teacher clearly considered it impertinent for students to acknowledge openly that they ever missed class or came in late for other than legitimate reasons, such as sickness or being detained by another teacher. In this situation, the teacher discusses such familiar student behavior as cutting openly with her students. It is probable that both teachers are trying to maximize control over their classes by these very different strategies. In the former case, the art teacher makes it clear that he expects rules to be followed strictly and absolutely, or he will not allow an offender to remain in his room. In the latter case, the health teacher seems to be letting the students know that they can't put anything over on her by politely bargaining one minute and abusing the spirit of the bargain the next. By acknowledging a common pattern of behavior, she is letting them know that she is wise to them. By refusing to acknowledge such behavior, the art teacher is also in a sense letting his students know that he is wise to them. Notice the way in which he hammers away at their excuses. The major difference between these two teachers is really as to at which point the punitive sanctions available to them should be invoked. The art teacher invokes them immediately. The health teacher lets the threat of daily quizzes hang over her class.

In the previous two incidents, we have seen two extremes of teachers' manipulation of punitive sanctions in their strategies for controlling their classes. The resolution of conflicting sets of norms in the classroom does not always depend on or reach the point of the invocation of punitive sanctions, however. In the following incidents, we will examine other

Incident #51. Characters: Mrs. Taylor, an Accounting teacher and the head of the Accounting Department; students in her class; our fieldworker. As mentioned earlier, not all problems for teachers are those of disruption. Student apathy is just as much of a problem, given the fact that the instructional model set out in the DLP expects student participation as well as teacher control. The following incident is an example in which students do not really compete with the teacher for control of the agenda but instead sit back almost motionless except to respond to the teacher's cues.

I went down to the fourth floor and asked a teacher if I could sit in on her class. The teacher turned out to be Mrs. Taylor, the head of the accounting department. She said, "I have a big lesson today. I'll discuss with you later what you see." I went and sat in the back of the class which was a second term accounting class.

Mrs. Taylor is a small middle-aged woman with a very formal teaching style. The students in this classroom were as follows: There were three black boys, 5 black girls, 7 Chinese girls, 4 white girls, 2 Spanish girls, 2 Spanish boys. One of the white girl's names was Fatima, so I assume she was of middle eastern background.

The first thing that the teacher said to the class was, "We start a new marking period today, and there's going to be a new rule. We talked about it before, but starting today, you have to turn in your homework on time." She said, "Previously you've been turning in your statements up to two weeks late. From now on a late statement is going to be penalized unless, and what's the exception?" she asked the class. Two or three girls said in unison, "Absence." The teacher said, "That's right, absence." She then told them that they would still have until tomorrow to get in any late assignments which they still had out. She then started writing the lesson and began asking questions about the balance sheet which had been written on the side board. When she would ask a question, Mrs. Taylor would press her fingertips together and look around and eventually call on one of the raised hands in the room. The first answer was from a black boy over in the left back corner of the room. The next two questions were answered by two black girls consecutively. Then another black girl raised her hand to answer. The teacher looked at her and said,"You're out three days. You don't know."

The classroom was extremely quiet throughout the period with a minimum of interaction among students. The teacher answered one Chinese girl's hand saying, "Yes, Anna?" The girl answered and the teacher said, "I heard you, dear, but the rest of the class did not." Then the girl who had been out for three days answered a question out loud and the teacher nodded. The lesson went on in this way, the teacher asking a number of questions about the accounting sheet on the board. In response to an answer given by a black boy, she asked a Chinese girl, "Do you agree with him?" The girl said, "No." The teacher said, "Why not? Tell him." The girl did so. To one of the teacher's questions there was a chorus of answers. The teacher said, "There's a chorus here. Let's not make this a singing class."

After working out the problems for a while, she turned around and faced the class in a very serious way and said, "All right, now I want all pens and pencils down." She raised her finger and said, "I am very strong and dictatorial about this." She gave a half a glance back in my direction. She might have been saying that for my benefit. She said, "Why do I want you to put your pens down?" A black girl in a yellow shirt sitting in front of me said, "So we don't write it in our ledgers before in our journals." The teacher nodded her approval. They discussed a point to be put in the chart on the board. The teacher then had one girl write some entries on the board. The class was perfectly quiet during this time. The teacher started walking around the room picking up the extra pieces of graph paper from the unoccupied desk tops.

Then the teacher made a dictation to the students. She said, "As part of your notes, ladies and gentlemen, (all the students began shuffling their notebooks) I'll dictate." She dictated the accounting principles and said, "Shall I repeat?" There was little response. She said, "Raise your hands." No one raised his hand. She said "OK."

Toward the end of the period, someone in the front of the room made a crack of some kind which I didn't hear. The teacher made a fist and said "I'll haul off, I swear." The kid flinched and there was the first murmur of laughter that had been in the class all period. The teacher laughed as well.

The bell sounded for the end of the period. I went up to talk to Mrs. Taylor as the students were filing out. She asked me what study I was with. I told her and she said, "Well, how is your observation in this classroom going to tell you anything about leadership and communication?" I told her that we were not conducting a leadership and communication survey per se, that I was more interested in the interactions of people. She said, "It's very hard to get the kids to interact. Did you notice my technique?" I said, "You mean the way you would ask one kid to tell the answer to another kid?" She said, "Yes."

Analysis. In some of the previous incidents, the problem of the teacher has been to put some curb on the amount of interaction among students. In this case, the teacher worries that the students do not interact enough and tries to encourage interaction. When she says that it is hard to get students to interact, we may assume that she does not really think that they never interact. What she means is that they do not spontaneously interact within the context of the formal lesson. We observed many classes in Sheridan in which students exhibited behavior similar to that seen in this incident. Almost invariably, however, rapid interaction among students begins as soon as the bell rings or as soon as they leave the classroom and enter the hallway. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that students come to this school in many cases expressly in order to interact with other people. The large number of students who come to school every day and cut classes is a statistically significant testament to this fact.

We have seen that the collective process by which the rules governing behavior in any individual classroom are arrived at (1) is bounded by certain limits and (2) depends upon the totality of social constraints and group norms present in that classroom. We have made many observations in the course of this unit on the different kinds of situations that result from the varying kinds of fit between educational expertise and hierarchical authority in a school organization. We have hypothesized that those in positions of authority in school organizations are constrained by their roles to justify those positions in terms of educational expertise. We have also hypothesized that even students who can claim educational expertise can manipulate that claim in order to gain certain privileges in the organization, for example the student in Sheffield who has such an excellent reputation that he can go almost anywhere he wants during the school day. The next two incidents focus on this question of the manipulation of educational expertise in the classroom, and the effects of this manipulation on the kinds of rule negotiations we have been discussing.

Thus far in these units, we have tried to defer questions about the meaning of "education" in these schools in order not to cloud our perceptions of the forms and processes of social organization in these schools. For example, the point of including the Green Valley Incident #2, in which the fieldworker describes how some students bring their personal problems to her, is not to advance the value judgment that "teachers should be surrogate parents" but to show how the rules determining what is and is not talked about in the classroom can have an effect on the formation of groups and the separation of one group from another, an overall process to which we refer as sorting behavior.

The next two incidents focus on the part the goal of "education" (the formal goal of the school organization) plays in the processes of negotiation and mediation in the classroom. Not only teachers but also students in the classroom try and sometimes succeed in manipulating the ideal of "education" in order to influence the behavior of others in the classroom.

Incident #52. Characters: Ben Malka, business ed. teacher, a young man, neatly dressed, with a very young face; Janet, a student; other students in his accounting class.

When the tone sounded, we moved onto Janet's sixth period which is also taught by Ben Malka, the electronic data processing teacher. As Janet was sitting down in her seat there was a black girl leaving the class who yelled something out to her. Janet replied, "You better watch yourself, Miss Fast Ass. The girl said something in reply and left. A white boy came in the room and sat down in the row next to us. He was carrying a transistor radio which was playing at a low volume. A Chinese boy came in the room who had rather a fancy shag haircut and sunglasses on and who was rather sensitive and good looking. He was greeted by several wolf whistles as he sat down.

The teacher began the class by saying, "Ok, class, take out your homework." The students took out their accounting books. Not all of them had them. The others opened to a specific problem which they were going to work on during the period. A tall black boy wearing glasses and afro who was also wearing a blue wool jacket with his name Darby sewn onto it raised his hand and said, "Mr. Malka, may I please have a pass?" Then he added, "This time I'll ask politely, you should give it to me," in a rather defiant tone of voice. He got a pass and left the room. While this transaction was going on, another boy started making comments: "Mr. Malka, well, I'm glad you finally got some new shoes." The teacher was wearing a high heeled pair of zip boots which did look new. Meanwhile the boy with the transistor radio had started talking to me a little bit. He started looking at my notebook and told me, "You should make the teacher look good. This is a good class here, but there are certain people who disrupt it." A black girl sitting in the front of the class had taken a brush out of her purse and was combing her hair vigorously as the class began. The boy who had left with the pass returned in a few minutes.

The makeup of this accounting class was as follows: There were three black girls, two black boys, six Spanish boys, two Spanish girls, who white boys, and two Chinese boys.

The black girl who had been combing her hair was sitting in the left front seat. She moved over one row to share a desk with a Spanish girl next to her. The two were looking on at the same book. Most of this class period was spent in working out an accounting problem. The teacher put a balance sheet on the board and they gradually filled in various credits and debits in the appropriate columns. Several of the boys in the room seemed to be quite involved in working out the problems. In particular, there was one black boy sitting in the back part of the room and one white boy sitting one row over and one seat in front of him who contributed many of the answers to the problems. The class was also quite noisy and there was a great deal of horseplay including dozens of spitballs at various times. The two boys giving most of the answers were also throwing spitballs.

Mr. Malka's reprimands in this class were short and casual. He did not reprimand every activity which could have merited it but managed to speak up at regular intervals. When they came to certain entries that were needed on the board, the black girl who was sharing a desk with the Spanish girl in the front of the room raised her hand and the boy from the back of the room said, "She always goes for the easy questions." Several spitballs went aloft. The girl seemed a little bit self-conscious to be answering questions, but she managed to stumble through and produce the right answer. The black boy, Darby, on one of his turns to answer started saying in a very loud voice, "You credit, you debit, no, you credit, no you debit," until the class was convulsed in laughter. Darby then said, "Teacher, you know I don't listen," and slumped back into his desk. The eventual answer to the question that Darby had failed to answer was that no entry was required. The students immediately began accusing the teacher of having tried to trick them. The white boy who participated in a lot of the problems said, "Teacher, we never ran across a thing like this before." Then the black boy who had made a comment about the teacher's suit, said, as the teacher had his back turned to write something on the board, "Really that is a nice suit, Mr. Malka,"in a slightly sarcastic tone of voice.

At the end of the class period, Mr. Malka came over to me and started telling me that this was really not a typical accounting class and that they were totally impossible. He told me that a few people set the level of noise in the class and that it was impossible to undercut them. I pointed out that the students participated in the problem a lot. He said that his major problem was that the black boy in the back of the class was both the smartest kid in the class and the most disruptive and that that made his task even more difficult.

Analysis. Many of the dynamics of this situation are similar to earlier classrooms that we have analyzed. There are at least two clearly discernible sets of norms operating here, one represented by the formal lesson, the other by the playing and spitball throwing of some of the boys. The interesting aspect of this incident is that some of the students are able to participate in both sets of norms simultaneously. By participating in the lesson, they lay a claim to educational expertise. That claim in turn undercuts the teacher's claim on their exclusive attention which is based on the assumption that they should obey him so that he can teach them. Unfortunately for him, he is teaching them even when they don't obey him.

Incident #53. Characters: Mr. [illegible]rris, a history teacher. Students in his American History class.

When the period was over and the tone sounded, I walked up to the third floor to a history class. I introduced myself to a young teacher, Mr. Morris. He told me his class was American History I and I took a place in the back of it. This class subsequently turned out to be the best classroom situation I have so far observed at Seward. As the period began, the teacher was handing out papers and there was some horsing around that went on for several minutes. One student inquired about marks and the teacher said that he didn't have them yet,that he would tell them next week. They groaned and he told them not to worry, that this class so far had been doing very well.

He then announced the lesson for the day to be on the Jeffersonian period of American history and the Louisiana Purchase. Present in this class were one Spanish boy, six black boys, five Chinese boys, three white boys, one white girl, and one Chinese girl.

Mr. Morris started the period by passing homework papers back around the room and speaking briefly to people as they received their papers. The white boy in the back of the room sitting next to me was reading the racing form opened to the pages marked, "Tomorrow's Trots-Yonkers," during the first part of the period.

The lesson for the day, as I've said, was on the Jeffersonian period in American history. The teacher began asking questions of the students in typical fashion and I was surprised that most of them seemed to have done their reading for the period. They even volunteered comments and questions. Mr. Morris made a diagram on the board presenting the differences in Thomas Jefferson's political philosophy and in his actual policies. While he was putting this diagram on the board, I saw the two Chinese boys in the left back part of the room interacting. Mr. Morris is a young teacher with a beard. On this day he was wearing a V-neck sweater with a tie. He speaks with a New York accent saying "dis, dat, dese and dose," instead of "this, that, these, and those." One of his teaching methods is to bear down on definitions of words. He asked people what various words in the history lesson meant and then at one point embarked on a long search for a definition of the word chauvinism. He discussed it both in its older political sense and in its newer sense of male chauvinist and tried to elicit comments and opinions from the students. There was one white boy sitting in the front row who was most vocal in his responses during the class. Many times when the teacher was looking for a response from the class, this boy would simply make up something or give some wild answer. In other words, he was putting the teacher on somewhat, but the teacher took it in good humor and seemed to approve of the fact that the boy was responding even though the boy did not always do it seriously.

At one point, they came across the name of Montezuma and Mr. Morris asked who in the class remembered Montezuma from last year's world history. A black girl sitting in the third seat back on the left row raised her hand excitedly and gradually pieced together the Montezuma story remembering it bit by bit. Most of the students in the class seemed to be taking notes, copying down the things that were written on the board and so on. There were two black boys sitting in the left row of the room who seemed particularly cool and detached. They seemed somewhat aloof from the rest of the class. Both of them had similar looking Afros. One of them wore tinted glasses. While many of the students did volunteer responses, these two boys seemed to hold themselves aloof and at one point, one of them put his head down on the desk as if to go to sleep. But both of them snapped to attention when the teacher mentioned a Haitian black revolutionary who had lived during the Jeffersonian period and suggested that if any students were interested in black nationalism they might check out this early Haitian nationalist, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

The teacher seemed to have his students impressed with the teacher's own knowledge of history. One of his techniques was to lead the class up to a certain piece of information and withold it for just a moment until he had their attention and then convey the information in an offhand way as if of course they should know that.

During the last part of the class, he was talking about the Lewis and Clarke expedition and the fact that every member of the expedition kept diaries so that Lewis and Clarke's escapades could be studied as a very personal kind of history which interested him a great deal.

When I went up to talk to him after the class, he told me that in fact this was his best class in the school and that they would all probably get good grades. He thought it ironic that at the first of the period some of them had seemed concerned about their grades for the upcoming marking period.

Analysis. There are at least two kinds of manipulation of educational expertise to be noticed in this class. The first is the quite successful manipulation by the teacher of his own knowledge of the subject matter. His style of posing provocative questions, letting them hang, and then giving the answer in an offhand manner, as if anyone should know that, was visibly effective in holding the students' attention. He even has a visible effect on the studied cool and detachment of the two black boys on one side of the room. Some rule seems to be operating which forbids these two boys from speaking unless spoken to (at which times they had the correct answers, by the way. They too had done their reading). In this example, as a result of whatever combination of circumstances, the educational expertise of the teacher is definitely operating as an effective social control in this classroom. His norms predominate almost completely.

The second kind of manipulation of educational expertise to be noticed here is that practiced by the boy who answers questions, even when he doesn't know the answer. By this technique, he is able to talk and participate in interactions inside of the classroom (rather than repressing his desire to socialize until he hits the hall). He is not showing himself an "expert" exactly, but the point is that he knows that the teacher will let him talk if the conversation is vaguely connected to the topic of the lesson. We observed several similar pieces of behavior in this school. It seems to be a student strategy to subvert the lesson to their own social advantage. It is the counterpart of the strategy of the teacher, Margaret Rossini, who tries to subvert the interactions of the students in her English class for instructional advantage.

We have now seen many of the characteristics and results of sorting behavior in Sheridan High School. We have seen how groups are formed around the social facts of age, ethnicity, and hierarchical position, and how these groups cooperate and struggle in the classroom. We have also gone beyond the description of sorting to examine some of the processes of mediation and negotiation which operate to allow members of these different groups to cooperate (albeit with varying amounts of stress). Finally, we have seen how the processes of social control and resistance to that control can result in cooperation in pursuit of the common goal of "education," even if the meaning of that goal is constantly under manipulation by various actors in pursuit of their own individual goals, such as control of the space in which they live.

If there is one common discovery we made in all three schools that we studied, it is that people in these schools all seem to be struggling to gain or maintain some control of their space, to establish some domain of autonomy for themselves in their schools. Unfortunately, there seems to be a limited amount of space in these schools, so that individuals and groups are often struggling over space. The last two incidents suggest to us that when people cooperate in learning related activities, that is, when the formal goal of the school takes on some common meaning for the various classes of actors, then the amount of space available to everyone seems to expand. The examination and analysis of the relationships between the struggle for territory and its effects on learning would seem to us to be of paramount importance for any practicing administrator.